CHINA WEEKLY
REVIEW
密勒氏評論報
A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

EDITORIAL

LIFE IN SHANGHAI

CHINA'S POLITICAL PARTIES

WILLIAM STEINHAUS

AMERICAN COMMUNIST TRIAL

ALEC STOCK

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NOVEMBER 5, 1949

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

THIRD WORLD WAR?

To The Editor:

I read with great interest the letter on the "Third World War" in the October 29 issue of the Review and feel that I should say something on the topic that Mr. Chiang Chun has raised, which is "Would American imperialism carry out a third world war?"

In my opinion, I think "that the dog would not dare to jump over the fence because it is so high and strong." In other words, American imperialism and its subordinates would not dare wage a third world war if the strength of the democratic forces is greater than that of their own.

I do not agree with Mr. Chiang Chun who compared the democratic forces with guns and bayonets chasing American imperialism. So far, as everyone can see, it is not socialism or the democratic forces which threaten world peace; it is American imperialism which has been clamoring for a third world war.

American imperialism is doomed to failure sooner or later. If it tries to find a way out through a war, it will find that the war will only hasten its end.

With the birth of New China, the strength of the world democratic forces has become ever stronger. The peoples of the world will not allow American imperialism to wage a third war, and America dares not to do it in the face of the strong forces of the people.

W. I.

Shanghai
October 29, 1949

STUDENT ORGANIZATION

To The Editor:

In the past, under the rule of the KMT, we students had no democratic rights, and it was consequently impossible for us to have a strong organization before liberation. During that time, only the students of a few schools, after ceaseless and unswerving struggles, succeeded in setting up self-government bodies. Now the situation is entirely changed. We are not only allowed but encouraged to organize student associations for ourselves.

Why do we students want to set up such an organization? In the first place, in order to study harder, make more rapid progress and train ourselves for the national reconstruction, we should organize our fellow students, teachers and even employees to help carry out the educational plans of the New Democracy. In the second place, we must organize our fellow students, teachers and employees so as to engage in cultural activities, mess hall running, physical exercises and other social welfare activities, in order to make our life in the school more active and pleasant. In the third place, in order to familiarize ourselves with progressive political ideas and cement the friendship between and among the students, teachers and employees, we cannot but

(Continued on page 160)

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Vol. 115 Shanghai, Saturday, November 5, 1949 No. 10

ECAFE MEMBERSHIP

THE current meeting of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) at Singapore was watched closely last week by most of the peoples of Asia. The conference had on its agenda the task of selecting two new associate members which would represent Indo-China and Korea respectively.

The question was of particular interest since there were two claimants for each seat. In the case of Indo-China the contest was between the French puppet regime headed by Bao Dai, former-Emperor of Annam, and the Viet Nam Republic, headed by Ho Chi Minh. For Korea's seat the choice lay between North Korea and South Korea.

As was to be expected, the contest for Korea resolved itself more or less into another of the familiar struggles between the United States and the Soviet Union. America's influence over the delegates apparently was the stronger, and the American established and maintained South Korean regime was elected to represent the country. The United States and eight supporters voted for South Korea, while Russia, supported only by India, voted for North Korea.

While the case for Korea turned out rather as expected, it was really the contest for Indo-China's seat that drew wide attention. In Korea there are two regimes, one originally established and currently financed by the United States and the other owing its existence to the Soviet Union. Each regime occupies roughly half of the country.

In Indo-China, though, the situation is quite different. Long a colony of France, the people got their first real opportunity to lift their heads at the time of the Japanese occupation when native guerrilla groups were organized. At the time of the Japanese surrender, the national united front, led by Ho Chi Minh, actually was in control of the greater part of the country.

Since then the French, at first with the help of British troops, have been engaged in a full scale military campaign to crush the resistance of the natives and restore the old colonial order. Because this campaign has largely failed (the French occupy only a few important towns and lines of communication, while the Vietnamese forces are in control of virtually all of the countryside), the French colonialists have tried another tack. They have dusted off the ex-emperior of Annam and established him as the head of a newly-formed, "independent" state of Vietnam.

What they have failed to accomplish by direct military means they hope to do by operating behind the facade of a native puppet. Naturally, this does not bring them any closer to achieving actual control of the country, but it does enable them to proclaim, with an almost straight face, that Indo-China is now a free and independent state. This may serve to confuse a few simple souls in far corners of the earth, but that is all.

This was the situation which confronted the Singapore conference of ECAFE. Prior to the convening of the meeting, some observers thought that the representative of the regime which *really* controls the country, the Viet Nam Republic, would be elected. The basis for this reasoning was simple.

The Bao Dai farce is so obvious that it deceives no one in Asia and it was therefore imagined that the United States, Britain and other countries with interests in the Pacific would find it difficult to pretend otherwise. In their own self-interest, it was predicted, these Western powers—particularly the United States—would support what is obviously a real native movement and thus raise their own prestige in the eyes of the other long-oppressed people of Asia.

These observers also thought that the various Far Eastern members, such as China, India, and the Philippines, would rally to the support of a struggling Asiatic people and vote against the puppet of an outside colonial power.

However, something appears to have happened to upset such predictions. So far no detailed breakdown of the voting has been received in Shanghai but it is obvious that a majority, undoubtedly made up of both the East and the West, chose to support the claim of the French puppet regime.

This is indeed a rather sad commentary upon the behavior of nations at the council table. It indicates that apparently there is no limit to power politics. Since ECAFE is supposed to be an organization designed to help Asia and the Far East to improve the area's economy, it seems hardly justifiable to deny membership to one-half of one country, as was done in the case of Korea, and to deny complete representation to another country by giving that country's voice to a thinly-disguised puppet of a colonial power whose only interest is in exploitation and which actually controls only a fraction of the area it claims to represent.

It is perhaps understandable and not surprising that some of the Western powers, engaged in a struggle for what they consider to be world leadership, would follow such a

path. But it is surprising—and certainly inexcusable—that the countries of Asia, which know far better than any others the real nature of colonialism and imperialism, should have supported such a course of action.

LIFE IN SHANGHAI

WITH the recent arrival of several foreign ships which have run the KMT's much-punctured blockade of the port, we have received quite a bit of mail from abroad, including a few anxious letters from friends and acquaintances who wonder how we are making out in view of the "terrible" conditions prevailing here.

One writer said that he had heard that the *Review* had been suppressed by the new authorities. Other writers said they understood that there was a near-famine in Shanghai because all the food was being shipped to Russia and wanted to know if they could send us something to eat. One writer said she heard that Shanghai had no coal and that she was glad not to be here for the coming winter. The point most frequently made, though, was that it must be very unpleasant here because the new authorities refused to give protection either to the life or the property of the foreign residents.

While most of us have been aware for some time that the picture of life in Shanghai currently held abroad was generally in error, the arrival of this mail emphasizes the extent of the misinformation being circulated about this city since the liberation. The causes are undoubtedly many and stem from several different sources. Perhaps the primary source of misinformation is the Voice of America, which—as most local listeners have long been aware—frequently sounds as if it were getting its news about Shanghai from the KMT embassy in Washington. Many of these "scare" stories undoubtedly resulted from hasty reports sent out shortly after the liberation by various individuals and firms involved in labor troubles at that time. Some, no doubt, are the result of propaganda "planted" directly by the KMT or by its foreign agents abroad.

For those of us remaining in Shanghai there is no need to point out the inaccuracy of such reports. However, for those foreigners who departed just before or just after the liberation, a few words explaining just what life in Shanghai is like may be in order.

The *Review* has not been suppressed by the new authorities.

We do not need any food. The city's food supply has been in better shape the last five months than at any time during the previous 10 years.

As for coal, Shanghai now has record stocks which are being enlarged almost daily. The latest figure placed the reserves at 300,000 tons, enough to last for two months. This figure becomes even more impressive if it is recalled that under the KMT stocks upon occasion fell to as low as 20,000 to 30,000 tons. It should also be noted that the city's largest fuel consumer, the Shanghai Power Company, which in the post-VJ Day period depended mainly upon oil, has reconverted the major portion of its generating plant to coal.

The matter of protection for foreigners is the one most frequently raised by former Shanghai residents now living at home or in other countries in Asia. It seems to us that this idea of lack of protection came about shortly after the liberation when there were a number of unfortunate incidents involving foreigners. Several foreigners were brought to book by the new authorities and made to issue public apologies, which resulted in two main things.

First, it convinced the Chinese people, as well as the foreign communities, that the old days when a foreigner could talk his way out of a minor skirmish were ended. Second, it unfortunately served to make enemies out of a number of foreigners who simply refused to accept the new principle of public apology which has now come into vogue in this country. Anybody who gets in trouble through his own fault, either through deliberate act or negligence, is expected to issue a public apology.

The early post-liberation labor disputes undoubtedly contributed to the view. There certainly were instances in which labor made excessive demands and there were other instances in which labor behaved in a fashion designed to coerce management into agreeing to a settlement on the former's terms. Such acts were unfortunate and are now happily a thing of the past.

However, it should be noted that in many of the cases where labor "misbehaved," it was certainly not entirely labor's fault. In some such instances, this was labor's only method of getting back at employers who were trying to give their workers the run-around. In other instances these post-liberation disputes were merely the culmination of long years of bad labor-management relations. For the first time, management was no longer in a position to call the cops to come crack the skulls of the workers.

With the coming to power of a government representing the peasants and workers, it is obvious that management must make concessions to labor which it was never called upon even to consider in the past. This is just one of the facts of the situation and is something that management, both foreign and Chinese, must accept. Just as in the past it was an accepted fact that the KMT favored management and forced the laborers to work on management's terms, the new regime favors the laborers and management must work—not on labor's terms—but on terms which do allow for a considerably improved position for the workers.

As to ordinary protection of the life and property of foreigners, there is ample evidence that the new authorities are vastly more attentive to such matters than were their predecessors.

The most graphic examples of how foreigners are protected have been contained in

the correspondence columns of the British-owned *North China Daily News* in which have appeared a number of letters from foreigners commenting upon their experiences with the authorities, the general condition of law and order and so forth.

The most recent examples of such letters appeared in the October 26, October 27 and October 31 issues of the *North China* and may be considered as typical. On October 26, J. Mudd wrote to express his thanks to the police in the Nantao district for their "active" and "courteous" assistance in recovering two drums of fuel oil, which, presumably, had been stolen.

On October 27, R. W. Edwards wrote to the *North China* to state his "deep appreciation" to the police. On a previous night, he reported, thieves broke into his garage and stole two bicycles. The following morning his wife reported the matter to the police, who not only received her courteously, but produced the two stolen bicycles which had been picked up the previous evening by a police patrol.

On October 31, H. G. King wrote a long letter describing his experiences with the police and the Liberation Army. Mr. King reported that while waiting for a traffic light, a mule cart driven by four PLA soldiers ran into him from behind, wrecking his bicycle. The policeman on duty rushed to his aid, the soldiers finally brought the frightened mule under control and the whole group then proceeded to the nearest police station. Mr. King then discovered, to his embarrassment, that he did not happen to have his resident's card with him—which the law requires all residents to carry—nor did he have his bicycle license. The lack of these certificates was waved aside and he was told to get his bicycle fixed and bring the bill to the police station. He did so and the soldier involved promptly paid the bill, without bargaining, and also stated that he would like to apologize to Mr. King.

This type of letter is no novelty. Similar ones appear in the *North China* from time to time, as is witnessed from the fact that the three which we have quoted were written within the space of one week.

It seems to us that there is no doubt but that the new authorities are faithfully carrying out the program, announced more than a year ago, which guaranteed protection for all law-abiding foreigners. It is obvious that in many disputes each of the contending parties comes away—regardless of the decision of the judge—convinced that he was right and the other fellow wrong. This, unfortunately, seems to be a frequent human reaction and we can thus expect that when such incidents involve foreigners, some of those who lose the decision are going to claim that the authorities are anti-foreign and that the lives and property of foreigners are unsafe in liberated China.

However, so far as we can tell, the *Review* is as free as ever, there is as much or more food than in the past, there is certainly a lot more coal than before, while protection for life and property is much greater than in the past.

25 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

Anti-Foreignism

November 1, 1924.

"'Anti-foreignism' has nothing in it which will endanger foreign interests in China. Its main attack is levelled against those of our own brethren who have so lost their self-respect as to acknowledge foreigners their master in everything. If it attacks foreigners at all, it merely attacks those foreigners who have the impudence to assume a superior air and to look down upon all Chinese. As foreigners help us, we honor them; as foreigners love us, we love them in return; but as foreigners despise us, we hate them. Time there has been when foreigners, taking advantage of our ignorance, trampled our rights under foot; but let by-gones be by-gones. It is hoped that, from now on, our foreign friends will cease to treat China as a 'partially civilized' nation, or to feel themselves in any way superior to the Chinese. Then and only then the East and the West can live harmoniously together and cooperate toward the progress of common humanity."

From: "Future of the Foreigner in China."

Feng Yu-hsiang's Coup d'Etat

Tientsin, being cut off from the Capital through Feng Yu-hsiang's coup d'etat, is somewhat panic-stricken. Rumors of hundreds of kinds are afloat and great anxiety is felt by the residents in the Chinese city. Every house and every room in the foreign concessions have been occupied to fullest capacity, processions of carts, rickshaws and other vehicles crowding the streets conveying personal effects into the foreign protected territories. As a consequence landlords and house-owners have realized a rare chance of profiteering by charging exorbitant rentals.

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

South Africa's Labor Policy

November 4, 1939.

The International Labor Office of the League of Nations reports (according to the Christian Century for Sept. 20) the enactment by the South African legislature of a law which, under the guise of forcing natives to pay taxes, actually imposes a system of forced labor. The law ostensibly applies only to such natives as refuse to pay their head and house taxes, or who refuse to accept employment offered by the state as a means of paying taxes. But a head tax of a pound and a dwelling tax of ten shillings when imposed on a South African native is very stiff, and there are reasons to believe that the conditions under which employment is offered those who cannot pay are anything but attractive. The government now proposes to round up in concentration camps all who have not paid, and then send them out, either to labor on the roads or other public works, or to hire them out to farmers.

Japanese Fail to Control China's Silk Industry

Before the Japanese invasion here in 1937 a Chinese company operated a small silk filature or thread-spinning plant which had a reputation for spinning the best silk thread for the manufacture of silk stockings produced anywhere in the Orient. The Japanese were unable to produce anything that could compare with the thread spun at the Chinese factory—which was located in Wusih, industrial town on the railway about midway between Shanghai and Nanking. The quality of the silk enjoyed such a good reputation in markets abroad that an American department store purchased the entire output of this particular plant.

Although silk originated in China, the Japanese product in recent years enjoyed a somewhat better reputation in world markets due to more improved methods of preparing for markets abroad. But the more conservative Chinese were also improving their silk and the natural superiority of their product was worrying the Japanese, who for years had been trying to monopolize the entire Far Eastern production. . . .

The Japanese silk interests had hoped that by controlling Chinese production they could dominate the entire industry in the Orient, but antagonisms which they have caused among Chinese silk producers, not to mention the animosities of the former owners of the filatures and dealers in Shanghai and elsewhere, have prevented a return of prosperity to the industry, despite prevailing high prices.

China's Political Parties—II

Democratic League—political party of China's intellectuals—has survived KMT oppression and today participates in the new People's Government.

IT is difficult for anyone outside Chinese society to understand the peculiar position of the intellectual, the scholar, both within the traditional social framework and more particularly during the last 50 years; to realize the fluctuation in his fortunes—now cast out from the old order he once dominated, his inherited modes of thought scattered by the high winds of science; now drawn into revolutionary activity, the 1911 revolution, the May 4th Movement; now attracted back into official life once more by the promise of position and reform; now subject to persecution, deprived of all freedom of thought and action; and finally, partly through conviction and patriotism, partly through bitter experience which reached into his pocket, brought into organized political activity, and trying to lose something of his traditional ultramontane individualism for the benefits which collective action brings.

The past 50 years have seen the intelligentsia cast out of government, for which their whole background had prepared them, and replaced in ever increasing degree by wholly feudal, warlord or compradore interests, until the intellectual class took on some of the characteristics of a "dispossessed mandarinate," of a group which, having once been in control, hoped to regain power by reforms, by reconciliation, and only in the last resort by revolution. A long trail of "reformism" characterizes the period, from the abortive Reform Movement under the Emperor Kuanghsu in 1898, initiated by scholars who believed they had found in western organization and methodology a panacea for the ills of China's society but rejected by a dead and unimaginative feudalism, to the years just preceding the outbreak of war with Japan, when the majority of intellectuals still clung to the belief that change could be brought about within the existing structure of society, even to the extent of change on the part of the strongest protagonists of that very social structure.

Not till 1941, when one more hope of "reform" was dashed and one more hope of inclusion in the ranks of government was betrayed did the intelligentsia as a class consciously begin the task of divesting itself of "reformism" through the only logical course open to it—political organization and a greater degree of unity among the hitherto notoriously-splintered intellectual groups.

There were, of course, heroic struggles for freedom, freedom from oppression of the mind and, for China, from colonialism and exploitation, by individuals of great stature—men like Lu Hsün who had outgrown the intellectual's traditional background and who were like rocks in comparison to the uneasy, drifting mass of intellectuals urgently seeking new standards and new directions; or by small groups of intellectuals who courageously and openly took issue with mis-government and abuse of power, groups such as the National Salvationists, whose "Seven Gentlemen" concentrated nation-wide bitterness and resentment at the impending betrayal of the country by the Nanking government. But it required Japan's threat to China's territorial integrity to bring the intelligentsia as a body into the political arena, to cut across the weaknesses and disunity resulting from their higher standards of living, their superior status.

In the spring of 1941 the Kuomintang forced the resignation of the three minor parties' representatives to the PPC, Chang Po-chun of the Third Party, Shen Chun-ju and Shih Liang of the National Salvationists. On the same morning as the Kuomintang forced these resignations by publishing the new PPC membership list omitting the three representatives, the minor party members met and discussed the possibility of forming a Federation of liberal groups.

As one prominent liberal said later, by the spring of 1941 it had become a "necessity" if Chinese liberals were to retain any influence in China's affairs and act as a brake, however slight, on the increasingly apparent fascist tendencies of the Kuomintang. The previous months had been critical for the country. The New 4th Incident had undermined national unity, the Kuomintang's attempt to appease Japan was "obviously increasing daily," and "though the people did not mind their sufferings, they were afraid they had suffered for nothing."

Inaugurated In Hongkong

With the official inauguration of the Federation of Democratic Parties in Hongkong in the autumn, and its announcement in the *Kwang Ming Pao* on October 10th, the liberal intelligentsia accepted, as Sa Kung-liao, then one of the Federation's spokesmen, said, "the impossibility of the Kuomintang's recognizing their legal status, and (the fact of) the new split between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party as well as the probability of the former's return to the old course of appeasing Japan and waging war on Chinese, which would eventually end in the capitulation of China." Its mission was, and long remained, to heal the breach between the KMT and the CCP—a fruitless mission as it later proved—and to keep China in the anti-Fascist camp. Three months later this latter and main objective was secured by the outbreak of the Pacific War.

In its opening declaration the Federation, which had secured the support of the Third Party, the National Socialist Party, the Youth Party, the Vocational Education and Rural Reconstruction Parties, advocated continued and unconditional resistance to Japan and made the following demands: 1) an end to the KMT'S one-party dictatorship and the calling of a national all-party conference; 2) an end to both the KMT's practice of meeting its party expenses from the national treasury and its control of China's armies, educational system and government through the inclusion of political workers, to be replaced by the "democratization of politics and the nationalization of the armies."

It maintained that both these two points had to be effected "so that the former will ensure the realization of the latter, and the latter will strengthen the foundation of the former. Both of the parties (KMT and CCP) would have something to lose as well as something to gain." Five years later, when chances of national unity again seemed high, it was on this very point that negotiations between the KMT and CCP bogged down, when the Kuomintang refused to consider reorganization of the government before reorganization of the army.

Chungking Nightmare

Removing its headquarters at the outbreak of the Pacific War from Hongkong to Chungking, the Federation went back into the nightmare of Kuomintang persecution. Hongkong had provided a degree of legal protection, despite the Federation's charge that the Kuomintang had negotiated with the Hongkong authorities to take action against "certain Federation leaders." But Kuomintang China offered no such measure of protection. The surface unity proved no deterrent to widespread repression, arrest or in extreme cases assassination.

Yet from its wartime "bases" in Chungking, Chengtu, Kunming, Sian and Kwangsi the Federation continued to operate and grow. Its influence increased among the students, particularly in Szechuen and Yunnan, where many schools and universities were concentrated and the Federation's activities were given qualified sympathy by the local authorities. The wartime student demonstrations in Kunming and Chengtu bore testimony both to the courage of liberal groups and to the Federation's growing strength.

By 1943 its sympathizers were numerous enough to force the Federation to change from an organization of small parties and to become the major organization of all those progressives and intellectuals in Kuomintang China who demanded unity and resistance through democratic means. Henceforth individuals could join equally with organizations, and claim an equal voice,

and the old name of Federation of Democratic Parties was dropped and replaced by its present one, China Democratic League.

It is difficult to assess the achievement of the League between 1943 and the Japanese surrender. Almost everywhere driven underground, its known members subjected to constant pressure or surveillance, its channels for expression confined to a few small newspapers that themselves were in danger of their lives, its total membership a matter of speculation rather than certainty as no lists could be kept, it did nevertheless serve to keep alive a spirit of protest among liberal, intellectual and student circles, and to provide on occasion the organization for nationwide anti-Kuomintang demonstrations.

When the end of the Sino-Japanese war came in August 1945, the League could return, with more authority, strength and experience, to its earlier task of mediating between the KMT and the CCP.

Five Steps Advocated

Thus, at its first Plenary Session held in Chungking in October 1945, the League advocated five steps to reduce friction and make for unity: 1) an all-party political conference; 2) a coalition government; 3) an end to armed conflict between the KMT and the CCP; 4) unification through peaceful means; 5) establishment of constitutional government "through unification, thereby leading to the realization of democracy." In essence this was the program laid down at its inauguration in 1941, and the League's program has not changed. What changed was its attitude towards the Kuomintang, from one of hoped-for KMT reforms to one of, by 1946, despair of achieving such a program through cooperation with the core of the Kuomintang but hope of achieving it through cooperation with the CCP, the liberal democratic parties and the Kuomintang's left-wing.

Nineteen forty-six proved, in fact, a turning point in the League's history.

Most important had been Nanking's convocation of a National Assembly without prior consultation with other parties. The 1945 PCC had, in fact, written into its program the five points recommended by the League at its Plenary Session, but there the matter had remained. On the very afternoon the KMT captured Kalgan, Nanking announced that the National Assembly would meet on November 12, despite League demands that its convocation be postponed until "real peace" was established.

A few days prior to November 12 the League's leaders, Lo Lung-chi, Shen Chun-ju, Huang Yen-pei and Chang Po-chun, flew to Nanking to secure a respite. They suggested that the Assembly should only be called according to the procedures laid down by the PCC, which stipulated the reorganization of the government as a prerequisite for a National Assembly, and objected strongly to the unilateral one-party decision to call the Assembly. They failed to secure any concessions from Nanking, and their failure led to the League's boycott of the Assembly. And the Assembly remained, as indeed it had been conceived, a Kuomintang-dominated debating society, lacking all except threadbare trappings of democracy.

As a League observer pointed out, "the members of the KMT's Central Executive and Supervisory Committees were automatically delegates to the Assembly. One thousand, two hundred delegates had been elected 10 years before as regional and vocational representatives when the KMT was attacking the Communists and abandoning territory and sovereignty to the Japanese.

The KMT appointed 150 delegates for Formosa and Manchuria, including representatives from Communist-held areas. It also appointed non-partisan representatives without consulting other groups in the PCC. The only nominally non-KMT elements in the Assembly are 100 pro-KMT Youth Party delegates. With the result that the KMT can railroad any of their proposals through the Assembly by an easy rule of the majority."

Secondly, two rightist parties, the Democratic Socialist and the Youth Parties, both founding members of the Federation in 1941, defected from the League under "duress and bribery," and joined the National Assembly. The Nanking Catholic paper, *Social Welfare*, said that Carson Chang's Democratic Socialist Party had been paid CNC$800,000,000 by the KMT to stage the defection. Another source, the Hongkong *Far Eastern Bulletin*, put it down to Carson Chang's dependence on KMT support through his brother Chang Kia-gnau.

But whatever the immediate reason for the defection, whether from pressure or simply, as is most likely, to ensure for themselves some portion of the lucrative official posts monopolized by the KMT, their defection strengthened the League by removing some of the sources of rightwing obstructionism and compromise and leaving the League free to take a clearer stand.

Kunming Assassinations

Thirdly, there were the brutal, open assassinations of two of the League's most prominent and admired supporters, Li Kung-po and Wen I-to. The Kunming assassinations, so easily traceable to KMT secret police, roused the country, cast the League in a dramatic leading role which gave greater meaning to its aims, and dispelled ideas of cooperation with the KMT still entertained by many of its rightwing supporters and sympathizers.

Fourthly, the breakdown of the Marshall negotiations, and the awareness that the intervention of Marshall and the United States were not motivated by goodwill and sincerity so much as by ulterior designs on a China that could become part of an anti-Soviet bloc, dispelled the belief some League members had entertained that the United States would intervene on their behalf against the Kuomintang, securing them both protection and status. The effect was important. Many League members had been educated in America and England, or in Western-run schools. The majority held Western ideals of democracy in the highest esteem. The disillusionment, painful though it was, was salutary, and served to emphasize the wide gap between Western governments and Western peoples.

Repression Intensified

The year had also seen an intensification of KMT repressive actions in every field, and the League's attitude became stronger. At the second Central Executive Committee meeting, held at Shanghai on December 23, 1946, it passed the following resolutions: 1) restoration of the policy laid down by the PCC; 2) opposition to the constitution drawn up and passed by the KMT in the National Assembly; 3) cessation of forced food levies, impressment, and forced borrowing of grain from the peasants; 4) release of political prisoners; 5) lifting of the ban on democratic newspapers and periodicals, many of which had been closed by force; 6) guarantee of the people's freedom of political action; 7) a thorough investigation of the assassination of Li Kung-po and Wen I-to; 8) abolition of the secret police.

The situation was further aggravated when, on March 8, 1947, the CCP delegates were ordered to leave KMT-controlled China. A League statement issued then said that the results of this "official split" would be most "painful." The results on the League itself were equally "painful."

After its first Plenary Session, held in Chungking in October 1945, the League had moved its headquarters to Shanghai. Its branches had multiplied, from Manchuria to Kwangtung, and it had established branches overseas, in the United States, Singapore, Dutch East Indies, Siam and elsewhere. Its membership had increased enormously (though only 10,000 members were registered even up to the time of Shanghai's liberation, membership was in fact much larger, and probably totalled nearer 100,000). But the Kuomintang's determination to attempt to solve China's problems on its own terms and by military means alone put an end to this development.

The dual system of membership, both by individuals and by organizations, had been abolished, and the Central Executive had recommended that membership henceforth be individual. A membership drive was planned in China and overseas, so that the League would become a "body of really popular character in the democratic struggle."

There was no let-up in persecution of League members. In April 1947, for example, the League protested against "the illegal arrest of League leaders and members like Tu Pin-cheng, Lo Pin-chi, Wang Chu-jen." Finally, Nanking's "mobilization order" rendered the League as illegal in the eyes of the Nanking government as any other party, and it was ordered to close.

It remained inactive for only a short while. Though Lo Lung-chi, Chang Lan (both later placed under "protective arrest") and others remained in Shanghai, many of the League leaders slipped out to the relative safety of Hongkong, "disowned" the dissolution of the League which had been ordered by its Headquarters, and re-established direct contact with other democratic parties which had already taken refuge in Hongkong, and with the CCP.

From that moment on, the League was committed to the total overthrow of the KMT in cooperation with the CCP and the democratic parties. Dr. Ma Yin-chu had indicated earlier how inevitable it was that the League should in the end join such an alliance. "We want a government which is really working for the interests of the people," he had said early in 1947. "But if an incompetent and shameless government seeks to foster its own interests and acts in every way contrary to the people's wishes, then, according to Dr. Sun Yat-sen's teachings, the people have the right to overthrow it."

It would be difficult to over-estimate the effect of this alignment, both in influence and weight of numbers which the League can command. Recent estimates now place League members at approximately 250,000, and it is probable that this total can be doubled in a relatively short time.

Influence of League

The influence of the League reaches not only into educational and academic circles, where progressive trends during the KMT regime were dominated by League members, but into the fields of political administration, industrial and agricultural techniques, social welfare and medicine.

Nor would it be easy to over-estimate the historical transformation within the intelligentsia which has made possible such an alignment. Only later study will show how intimately bound up with feudalism was the intellectual class, how vested its interests in the maintenance of the *status quo*. A quick glance at the biographies of its leading representatives of yesterday and today is enough to show how deep those interests ran. Certainly the League has inherited many of the weaknesses of the old scholar-intellectual tradition—a strong tendency towards individualism and individual action among its members, a looseness of organization which does not make for strong political action, a lack of the discipline so necessary to any political party.

These are, however, weaknesses which can be corrected, more easily today in the context of New Democracy than at any other time, and they will have to be corrected if the League is to remain the major representative of the intelligentsia. Yet despite these weaknesses (perhaps even because of them) it is a tribute to the courage and foresight of a band of courageous men, and the capacity of Chinese intellectuals for growth and change, that the League survived temptations and attacks to emerge today a more whole-hearted party to China's reconstruction.

WILLIAM STEINHAUS

American Communist Trial

Reaction reaches new peak in America as US Communist leaders are fined, jailed in what writer terms unfair trial. America seen moving toward fascism.

SINCE the end of the war, America has been hit by a wave of reaction. Labor union leaders, government employees, university teachers, and others have been subjected to an ideological cleansing in the form of loyalty oaths, investigations, purges and various restrictions.

The domestic reaction reached a new peak the middle of last month, when 11 leaders of the American Communist Party were sentenced to from three to five years in prison and fined US$10,000 each for teaching and advocating a doctrine that, it was charged, supported the overthrow and destruction of the United States Government by force. If this verdict is upheld by the higher courts, it is generally assumed that it will lead to the outlawing of the Communist Party in America and increased restrictions on all non-conformist political thought.

11 Defendants

The 11 defendants included Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the American Communist Party; Henry Winston, the Party's organizing secretary, a Negro; John Williamson, Party labor secretary; James Stachel, Party educational director; Robert Thompson, New York State Party chairman; Gilbert Green, Illinois State Party chairman; Gus Hall, Ohio State Party chairman; John Gates, editor of the *Daily Worker*, the Party's newspaper; Irving Potash, vice-president of the Fur and Leather Workers' Union, CIO; and Benjamin Davis, member of the New York City Council, a Negro. William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party, was also indicted, but his trial was postponed because he is suffering from heart trouble.

The defendants were indicted under a section of the Smith Act, passed in 1940 and aimed at allegedly subversive groups. Yet, in the eight years since it was enacted, this law has failed to clamp down on such native fascist organizations as the anti-negro Ku Klux Klan and the many anti-Semitic hate groups. During the war itself, the isolationist *Chicago Tribune* printed a story which revealed that the Japanese code system had been broken. Although the printing of this news without permission from the War Department gave the Japanese a chance to revise their codes and might, by a not too lengthy stretch of the imagination, have been considered subversive in a nation at war, the Smith Act was not used against the *Tribune's* publisher, Colonel Robert McCormick. Nor until now has it been invoked against the Communists.

Yet much has been written in America about the legal processes at work. The fact that a trial has been held, that it lasted for nine months and that the defendants were legally found guilty seems to have satisfied many people who forget that Tom Mooney, the west coast labor leader, was legally tried on framed charges and jailed for 20 years before a pardon was grudgingly given in an attempt to wipe away the injustice. Two Italian immigrant workingmen, Sacco and Vanzetti, faced a hostile judge and were legally sentenced and then executed while people all over the world protested, and books and papers have since been written exonerating them from the trumped up-charges.

It has even been contended that the results of the trial should not prevent the American Communist Party from continuing. The *New York Herald Tribune* stated: "Offhand there seems no reason why the Party should not continue, provided that its leadership abandons the Communist tactic of violence and confines itself to advocating Marxist doctrine by the normal methods of the democratic 'market place of ideas.' But if it does not, then every Communist Party member would seem to be open to indictment. . . ." This line of reasoning is hard to follow, since the leaders of the Communist Party have been convicted, not because of anything they have done, but because Marxist doctrine itself, in its analysis of social development, declares that revolution is inevitable in relation to definite historical circumstances. To satisfy the *New York Herald Tribune* and the court in New York, the American Communist Party would have to deny Marx.

Antagonistic Press

The press criticized the conduct of this bitter trial only as it reflected on the Communist defendants and their attorneys. Reams of newsprint have been devoted to what the papers declared were the attempts of the Communists to make a farce of the proceedings by their aggressive actions, shouting, refusal to answer questions, and general attitude. Five of the defense lawyers and Eugene Dennis, who acted in his own defense, were convicted of contempt of court and sentenced to from 30 days to six months in prison.

Yet a Cuban Catholic lawyer who observed the trial as a delegate from the International Association of Democratic Lawyers noted in his official report to that organization: "Judge Medina refuses to see that the motions he denies, the objections he overrules and the petitions for reversion he refuses to grant arise from the intrinsic needs of the defense in view of the bias and sophisms prevalent in the courtroom, and of the partiality and the arbitrariness with which he conducts the case."

This lawyer, Domingo Villamil, summed up his observations by declaring: "After having seen and heard

all I heard and saw in that courtroom, it is my conviction that the trial is being conducted most unfairly; that there are two prosecutors and no judge at all in that trial—Judge Medina, not a good man, being the most formidable of the two. . . . What Judge Medina is doing in his courtroom has nothing to do with justice. . . . It sickens the heart and worries the mind of any intelligent and upright man."

One of the many incidents that took place during the trial was the refusal of John Gates, editor of the *Daily Worker*, to give evidence against his comrades. He told the court: "If I behave like an ordinary stoolpigeon and tell you what you want to hear I will lose all my standing with my comrades, the working class, the public and the jury." Following this Judge Medina ordered Gates to reply and when he refused Medina fined him for contempt of court. Then Gates and two of the other defendants who had protested were taken out of the courtroom handcuffed. Henry Wallace commented on this action: "Judge Medina's decision to imprison them for contempt has a deep effect on the political freedom of the American people. Under the protection of an anti-communism crusade, the United States is running with astonishing speed toward fascism of a native brand."

Many Protests Filed

Many other protests were filed upon the conclusion of the trial. Indiana State judge Norval Harris, chairman of the newly founded national non-partisan "Committee to Protect the Rights of the Communist Leaders," stated that the entire trial violated the rights of the defendants provided for by the Constitution. "It would have been a real miracle if the defendants were acquitted in view of the specially selected biased jurors, prejudiced judge, greatly hostile prosecution and witnesses which included a great number of intelligence agents," he declared.

Paul Robeson, famous Negro singer who has been given the Red smear because of his constant fight for civil liberties and improvement of the lot of the American Negro, predicted that the date of the verdict, October 14, will become "the anniversary of a thousand times the Peekskill atrocity." Peekskill is a small town in upper New York State where a band of hooligans wrecked a meeting where Robeson was to sing. "The verdict," Robeson continued, "clearly points out that every American citizen is in danger of meeting large-scale fascist atrocities. All the American people must unite and fight for the release of the Communist Party members from prison. . . . This is a turning point in American history and the American people must turn back the tide towards fascism."

Throughout the country demonstrations have been held protesting the convictions. In Los Angles, delegates to the Pacific Coast conference of the American Jewish Congress voted to request the national leadership of the organization to demand that the Communist Party leaders be released on bail and take court action to challenge the constitutionality of the Smith Act under which they were indicted. In Chicago, CIO and AFL trade union leaders, declaring that the next attack would be on the trade union movement, formed a "Trade Union Committee for Political Freedom" to carry the struggle for the freedom of the Communist Party leaders throughout the Midwest. In Ohio, 20 Cleveland organizations held an emergency conference which decided that it was imperative "to reverse the verdict against the 11 Communist leaders." A picket demonstration was held in St. Louis, and in New York's Harlem district thousands attended an outdoor mass meeting held in the pouring rain. Twelve hundred persons went to Washington under the auspices of the Civil Rights Congress to petition the US Attorney General to release the Communist leaders under bail, and a number of prominent artists, writers and educators addressed a similar request in writing to the Attorney General.

The noted Negro historian William Dubois declared: "Nothing in my life has so shaken my belief in American democracy as the trial and conviction of the Communist Party leaders. Maybe the trial was conducted legally, but if that is so then our whole judicial system is rotten. I cannot conceive anything more unfair and unjust than the conduct of this trial. It marks the nadir of our hysteria and the determination to throttle free speech and make honest thinking impossible."

The verdict is in, but under American law it is not yet final. Appeals will be made and in all probability the Supreme Court will be called upon to give a decision as to its constitutionality. Meanwhile, the Communist Party has announced that, in addition to filing appeals, "basically speaking we hereby present our case to the Supreme Court of the American people. We are confident that the Constitution and the Bill of Rights are not US dollars or English pounds. They cannot be devalued just as ideas and beliefs cannot be confined."

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Knock At The Door

THOSE Americans who have been saying that "it can't happen here" should now recognize the knock of fascism at the door. They might do well to remember that Adolf Hitler began his destruction of German bourgeois democracy by doing away with segments of civil liberties. The Communists were the first to go, followed by trade unions, minority parties and progressives of all types.

The Communist trial is another step in the steady march toward the stage where those who merely antagonize the authorities, who do nothing save dissent from official policy, may be similarly harassed and convicted.

Since the end of the war, America has seen the hasty end of price-controls, passage of the Taft-Hartley Bill, which nullified most of the gains which labor had made during the Roosevelt era, and the witch-hunting rampage of the House Un-American Activities Committee. All this went hand in hand with an American foreign policy which has bolstered reaction and feudalism abroad.

Part of Deliberate Plan

The trial of American communists is no bolt from the blue. It is part of a deliberate plan on the part of the extreme right wing of big business, allied with the newly and arrogantly powerful military clique, to throttle all opposition to their complete control.

These men appear to have forgotten American history. The United States was founded on the solid ground laid out by such revolutionaries as Paine and Jefferson and, later, Jackson and Lincoln. Lincoln, often considered the greatest of all American presidents, even advocated the right to revolution. Nearly 100 years ago he declared:

"Any people anywhere inclined and having the power have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, a most sacred right—a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world."

"Treasonable" View

Judge Medina, and those whose views he expresses, would undoubtedly term such a statement treasonable. They would also be inclined to take exception to, and perhaps even declare "unconstitutional" that section of the Declaration of Independence which refers to the right of the people to change their form of government.

The true guardians of American democracy are not those who would drum out of existence the basic rights on which the nation was founded and who dream of an "American Century." They are the people who are standing up in New York, Chicago, and other cities throughout the country to protest the anti-democratic and un-American actions being perpetrated by the reactionaries.

ALEC STOCK

Steps To Morality

According to the North China Daily News, Dr. Chen Shi-kong, speaking on Britain at a luncheon of the Sino-British Cultural Association, made a novel contribution to the science of morality.

"The tradition in education is not only all important to the classical universities of Oxford and Cambridge but to lesser institutions too," the speaker said. "I remember the headmaster of Rugby, in following the ancient practice of the first headmaster, still talks to the students every morning by standing on the top of a ladder. Such traditional practices, though unintelligent to the casual visitor, may have a great deal of moral effect on young minds," Dr. Chen pointed out.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Recognition?; US Naval Chief Sacked; Austerity For Britons

FROM the South China Front, *New China News Agency* dispatches report that three units of the KMT 3rd Column of the Canton Military Area and one independent corps surrended to the PLA on October 25 after being encircled at Sinwei and Kiangmen.

On the same day, the 3rd Security Preservation Division, of more than 2,000 men, surrendered to the PLA at a point east of Anping, which was liberated several days previously.

A report from Changsha stated that a total of 681 officers and men belonging to the 1st Brigade of the 3rd KMT Division under the command of Sung Hsi-lien surrendered to the PLA Bandit Suppression Headquarters in Changteh. This group surrendered 6 heavy machineguns, 13 light machineguns, 40 American made automatics and 584 rifles.

Hongkong reports that PLA forces are advancing on Nanning, bypassing Wuchow. A Chinese press dispatch from Macao said that 1,000 PLA regulars entered Shekki at noon on October 30. Another two divisions are reported on their way to this main town of Chungshan country.

A column of PLA General Chen Keng's troops are reported to be advancing on Yulin, 85 miles east of Nanning, while other columns in southern Kwangtung push on Limmong, on the Kwangtung-Kwangsi border, 220 miles west of Canton.

If Limmong falls, the escape route of retreating Nationalists in Kwangsi would be cut off and the way to Nanning open.

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KMT Raids Continue

CITIZENS in Shanghai and throughout China have been making contributions to a special fund to aid the residents of Ningpo who have suffered heavily from indiscriminate bombing by the KMT air force during the last few weeks. In Ningpo, there has been considerable loss of life.

On October 30, it was reported that ten planes bombed the Chishuyen machine workshop and electricity plant of the Shanghai Railway Administration and inflicted heavy damage. On October 31, KMT planes over Shanghai again bombed an area in Woosung, killing 11 civilians and wounding 55. About 50 bombs were dropped. First aid to the injured was given by the PLA ambulance corps stationed in the area.

The *Giefang Rhbao* reports that another plane of the Central Air Transport Corporation has deserted the KMT and surrendered to the People's Government. The pilot of this plane, a C-47, was Liu Chi-jen. He flew his plane from Hongkong on the night of October 27 and landed somewhere in the liberated areas.

Stateless Nationalists

THE Chinese Nationalist Government has asked the government of the Philippine Republic to grant it the same privileges as the Nationalists once granted stateless White Russians and other Europeans who were admitted into Shanghai under the auspices of the International Refugee Organization.

"This question," President Quirino is reported to have said, "will be treated with an open mind."

President Quirino also disclosed that he will confer with United States Ambassador Myron M. Cowen, who is at present in Singapore.

Manila reports say that Sio Hong-wang, an official of the KMT Ministry of Defence, has arrived in the Philippines on a secret mission for his government.

It is "hinted" that Sio's arrival may have some connection with the recent arrival of shipments of silver coins, which are at present stored in the vaults of the China Bank of Communications in Manila on behalf of the KMT government.

A Nationalist foreign relations official in Taipeh denied the *Manila Sunday Times* report that the Nationalists had requested Philippines permission for the entry of Nationalist Chinese into the islands, according to a foreign report from Taipeh.

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Angus Ward Arrested

THE United States Consul-General in Mukden, Mr. Angus Ward, has been arrested by the Public Security Bureau in Mukden for alleged assault on a Chinese employee of the Consulate, Chi Yu-heng, according to *New China News Agency* reports from Peking.

The arrest of Ward followed complaints by all the employees in the US Consulate, at 38 San Ching Road, Mukden. Arrested at the same time as Ward were four other officials of the Consulate, an American, a German, an Italian, and an American-born Japanese.

All the arrested persons are expected to stand trial for assault at the People's Court in Mukden.

In Washington, the State Department has sent a protest to the Chinese People's Government against the arrest of Ward.

In the Northeast, all daily papers have strongly protested against the assault and demanded punishment of the culprits. The employees of the Consulate have declared a strike.

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Recognition?

DR. Herbert Evatt, Australian Minister for External Affairs, announced on October 25 that Australian recognition of the Chinese People's Republic could not be granted without firm and specific assurances that the territorial integrity of neighboring countries, notably Hongkong, would be respected, and that the new China would carry out its international obligations. Dr. Evatt said: "Arrangements have been made that any action taken in the matter will be concerted by Australia with the United Kingdom and the United States of America."

In an editorial on October 31, the *North China Daily News* said: "What are international obligations? The first point to be taken is that the action of the People's Government in announcing its coming into being, and thereby inviting recognition, must be take as prima facie acceptance on its side of the duty of carrying out observance of its international functions. Until the matter is put to actual proof it would be improper to suggest that the new Government contemplates doing anything else."

A London report on October 30 says that British diplomatic and colonial representatives in the Far East will discuss the effect that British recognition of the People's Government would have on their respective territories when they meet in Singapore this week.

The report says that British Cabinet approval is now understood to have been obtained in principle for the policy of early de jure recognition of the Chinese People's Government, but the timing of an official announcement may depend on the findings of the Singapore conference.

The conference is due to open on Wednesday under the chairmanship of Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, Commissioner for South East Asia, and will be attended among others by Sir Ralph Stevenson, British Ambassador to China, who has been recalled to London for consultations.

Paris reports that the French war on Vietnam is under review in consideration of possible British and United States recognition of the Chinese Government, and there are rumors that an attempt may be made to have Pandit Nehru mediate for the French with Ho Chi Minh.

In Los Angeles, on October 30, Sir Oliver Franks, the British Ambassador to the United States, told a press conference that no difference of opinion exists between the Governments of the United States and Britain over the recognition of the Chinese People's Government.

He added that "there is a difference of approach due to the fact that we have a bigger commercial stake in China."

Mr. C. P. Mayhew, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, disclosed in the British Parliament on October 25 that British business investments in China in 1941, represented by physical properties excluding ships, totalled about 124 million pounds sterling. He said: "To this must be added the capital represented by Chinese Government and railway bonds quoted in London. This amounts to 53 million pounds sterling. I would add that unofficial estimates exceed these figures."

Plague In North Chahar

THE latest reports from North Chahar state that 49 persons there have died of plague.

Four hundred doctors and medical students had registered with the Central Plague Prevention Committee up to October 9 to work in anti-plague teams in the infested area. Members of the joint anti-plague team of Northeast and North China now in North Chahar are working twenty hours a day combatting the disease.

From Peking on October 29 came the report that the Central Plague Prevention Committee, headed by Vice Premier Tung Pi-wu, decided at its meeting yesterday to send three medical teams to Chahar. These teams will each comprise some 180 members from the Health Department of the People's Liberation Army and various North China universities.

The Inner-Mongolia anti-plague team from Ulanhto, which arrived in Peking on October 28, started out from there to Chahar on the following day. This team is experienced in combatting plague and it has worked together with Soviet medical personnel during the last two years.

The Peking serum laboratory is turning out anti-plague serum at top speed. Technicians and workers volunteered to put in four extra hours work a day so as to produce serum for 130,000 persons by November 1. Cinemas in Peking are daily showing a short film on how to prevent plague.

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Austerity for Britons

SPEAKING over the radio after the announcement of the British Government's cuts in public expenditure, Prime Minister Clement Atlee said: "The welfare state can only endure if it is built on sound economic foundations." He asked British workers and employees to give "serious consideration" to working longer hours.

After announcing in Parliament a total of 280 million pounds sterling cuts in expenditure, Mr. Atlee said that prices of more-or-less essential foods would go up. Defense expenditure would be cut and the housing program reduced by 35 millions sterling. Education costs would be cut by 5 millions, and the hitherto free national health service would charge in future for medicines, thus saving 10 millions. Subsidies on fish and animal feed stuffs would be eliminated.

Commenting on the Labor Government's action, Mr. Churchill said: "About two or three years ago I asked that there should be a reduction in expenditure by several hundred millions a year. That is what they are doing now."

On October 25, London reports said that British Government securities slumped on the London Stock Exchange for the second successive day, following the Government's 280 million sterling economy cuts. The slump clipped 190 million off Government stocks and issues originally valued at 1,780 millions.

War Loan—by far the biggest issue—fell to its lowest since 1939, several points below its worst level at the time of the Dunkirk crisis in 1940.

Commenting on the Government's announcement, Sydney Gambell, *Reuters* Financial Editor, said: "The almost unanimous opinion is that if this is the government's last word, then this is not Britain's last crisis. So far, at any rate, the British Government's measures have not restored confidence because, while courageous, they seem pitifully inadequate. Atlee's biggest savings—the ending of the 36 millions saving on animal feed—is literally chicken feed. Savings on the housing and food subsidies, education and health services are very courageous politically.

"But benefit during the present financial year ending next March will be very small—expenditure will probably surpass the original estimates. Savings on capital expenditure will be fully effective until a year hence, if then. These mean that all capital expenditures are not only the government's, and not wholly within the government's control."

Chinese Papers Say:

Conviction of US Communist leaders threatens all democratic forces, China welcomes East German Government, rail reconstruction going well.

THE conviction of 11 leaders of the American Communist Party aroused indignation on the part of Chinese newspapers which said that this attempt to destroy the freedoms of association, assembly, speech and thought in America is fast wiping out the faintest illusion of American democracy.

The *Giefang Rhbao* expressed hope that this incident will help to promote "the awakening and unity of the American people" and predicted that the Communist Party, far from being weakened, will on the contrary be strengthened. At the conclusion of its editorial, the paper said: "We, the people of China, have just been liberated from the political oppression of the imperialists and the Kuomintang reactionaries. We feel deeply from personal experience that the threat presented to the American people by their domestic fascist influences is also a threat to the peaceful and democratic forces of the whole world. We must therefore exert our fullest efforts in support of the struggle of the American people in opposition to the American fascist influences. We express the most profound respect for the American Communist leaders, for their undaunted spirit under the high pressure of the reactionaries."

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ACCORDING to reports made at the National Railways Engineering Conference, a total of 4,474 kilometers of railway have been repaired since last April. The *Wen Hui Pao* maintained that this is "ample proof of the incredible strength of the Chinese people as manifested under the resolute leadership of the Communist Party." Regarding the railway work program for the immediate future, the paper said: "Within this year, traffic will be resumed along the entire lengths of the Peking-Hankow and the Canton-Hankow Railways, while the Chekiang-Kiangsi and the Tatung-Puchow Railways will be repaired. Within the coming year, a line will be built connecting Tatung with Tangku, regional double tracks will be built along the Chinese Eastern Railway, the Mukden-Shanhaikuan Line, and the Peking-Shanhaikuan Line; the Chinchow-Kupeikou-Chengteh Line will be restored; plans will be formulated for the construction of a bridge across the Yangtze at Wuhan and another across the Yellow River at Fenglingtu, as well as the manufacturing of 9,400 to 10,000 railway carriages."

The paper pointed out that in carrying out emergency railway repairs, "the Soviet Union gave us a great amount of assistance. Aside from furnishing us with 500 kilometers of rails together with all accessories, a number of experts well experienced in emergency railway repairs were dispatched to China where they did all they could under the most adverse of conditions."

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COMMENTING on the establishment of diplomatic relations with the new government in East Germany, the *Ta Kung Pao* declared a similar policy could eventually also be adopted in relation to Japan. The paper said: "The newly established People's Republic of Germany is completely different from the Germany of Hitler or even of the Weimar Republic in that the new state belongs strictly to the German people. It is, therefore, but natural for the new Germany to be warmly welcomed by the world's peace-loving peoples and nations. . . .

"A similar policy may also be adopted with regard to Japan. Inasmuch as the former aggressive acts of Japan were entirely the work of their then ruling class, the Potsdam Declaration thereupon insisted on the punishment of war criminals, the disarmament of Japan, and the liquidation of the authorities and forces which had led the Japanese people on the road to ruin. It is unfortunate that, after the war, Japan should have fallen into the clutches of American imperialism. Efforts are being made to foster the same reactionary forces, and both in outward appearance and in spirit the present Japanese regime remains the same as the past one."

US Naval Chief Sacked

PRESIDENT Truman dismissed Admiral Louis Denfeld from the post of American Chief of Naval Operations for "opposing defense policies." The dismissal, announced by President Truman, came less than a week after a House of Representatives Armed Services Committee inquiry disclosed fundamental differences on basic American military strategy between some of the navy leaders and other service chiefs.

The *New York Times* said the transfer of Admiral Denfeld was "interpreted as a victory for the Air Force in its furtherance of strategic bombing as the keystone of the nation's striking power."

The bitter controversy in the United States over whether the Navy or the Air Force should have priority in launching atomic bomb attacks in the event of war was apparently decided in favor of the Air Force in the spring of this year.

When the new United States Defense Secretary, Louis Johnson, suddenly stopped plans for the Navy's 65,000 tons aircraft carrier capable of transporting atom bomb planes, the Air Force was granted estimates providing for a total of 169 B-36 "intercontinental" bombers. Each of these bombers costs about $3,350,000.

General Hoyt Vandenberg, United States Air Force Chief of Staff, declares that some day the B-36 will be made obsolete by development of guided missiles. By that time, he added, it is hoped to have even better machines.

During the Navy-Air Force controversy, the Navy supporters maintained that the big bombers could be destroyed by rocket planes and guided missiles and that in any case the atom bomber could not "attack friendly European capitals which may be occupied by Russian forces."

They argued that land armies would have to be landed overseas by the Navy "if war with Russia broke out," and that aircraft carriers would have the major task of protecting the landing forces and the ships.

On the controversy, President Truman released a letter from the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Francis P. Matthews, who wrote: "On Tuesday, the fourth of this month, events had taken such a course that in a conference with Admiral Denfeld early that day I frankly stated to him that I feared his usefulness as Chief of Naval Operations had terminated."

Following the dismissal, a prominent Catholic educator, Right Rev. Maurice S. Sheehy, head of the Department of Religious Education at the Catholic University and a former Navy chaplain, asked the Secretary of the Navy, Francis P. Matthews, to resign because of his part in the dismissal.

Secretary Matthews is a prominent Catholic leader, and he and the Rev. Sheehy have worked closely in religious affairs, it is reported.

Denouncing the dismissal of Admiral Denfeld as "a heinous crime against the country and against national security," the Rev. Sheehy telegraphed Matthews urging him to resign immediately.

The Week's Business

The East China Trading Department has started barter trade with Soviet Russia. According to reports in the local press, the first batch of Soviet goods, including 8,000 tons of paper pulp and newsprint, has already arrived at Tientsin and will soon be transported to Shanghai. In return, the East China Trading Department has sent to Russia merchandise including bristles and raw silk.

With gradual development of the Sino-Soviet barter trade, Soviet Russia will send chemical raw materials, pharmaceuticals, kerosene, gasoline, diesel oil, machineries, steel and iron and other supplies to the East China district to meet the urgent industrial requirements, while such native products as tea, tea bricks, tung oil and so forth will be able to be exported to Soviet Russia. Such a development is expected to contribute immensely to the export trade and industry of this country.

Meanwhile, according to a report in the *Wen Hui Pao*, the quantity of supplies exported from Shanghai during the month of October totalled 14,721.95 quintals, the major portion of which went to the United States. Considerable quantities of supplies also found their way to the South Seas regions via Hongkong, as well as Britain, Belgium and Holland.

That commerce and industries in this city are steadily returning to normal is indicated by the increasing amount of bills and notes settled through the Clearing House during the last few months. Clearing House transactions for July amounted to JMP22,300,000,000; during August the amount was increased to JMP35,500,000,000; in September it was further increased to JMP51,500,000,000, and in October, transactions totalled JMP101,900,000,000.

The local commodity market during the week under review, from October 26 to November 2, was featured by price jumps, with quotations of cotton yarn and cloth leading. For the week ending October 29, according to the *Giefang Rhbao*, the wholesale price index for essential commodities rose 11 percent and that for export supplies 11.6 percent. On Monday and Tuesday, October 31 and November 1, the price rises were no less drastic. On October 24, 20's cotton yarn and Dragon Head cotton cloth were quoted at JMP 1,120,000 and JMP45,500 respectively, but by November 1 they had climbed to JMP1,405,000 and JMP56,700.

The increases in the textile quotations can be attributed to a number of factors, and have not been without speculative aspects. In the first place, textile quotations in North China are reported higher than in Shanghai, and in the second place, with the liberation of South China, which used to absorb 30 percent of the textile products of Shanghai, local dealers expect a booming market and have tried to force up quotations, even though actual demand has not yet been forthcoming. That the drastic jumps in these quotations are unreasonable can be seen from the fact that the total turnover in the textile market during the week ending November 29 registered a decline of 14.07 percent when compared with the previous week, indicating no increase in any demand.

The money situation throughout the week remained stringent due to the month-end pay day and the bullish trend in the local market. The curb interest rate on loans fluctuated at around JMP14 per mille per day. On October 26, the Ta Shun Native Bank was unable to meet its obligations at the Shanghai Clearing House under the tight money situation and was ordered to suspend its business by the Financial Department of the Shanghai Military Control Commission.

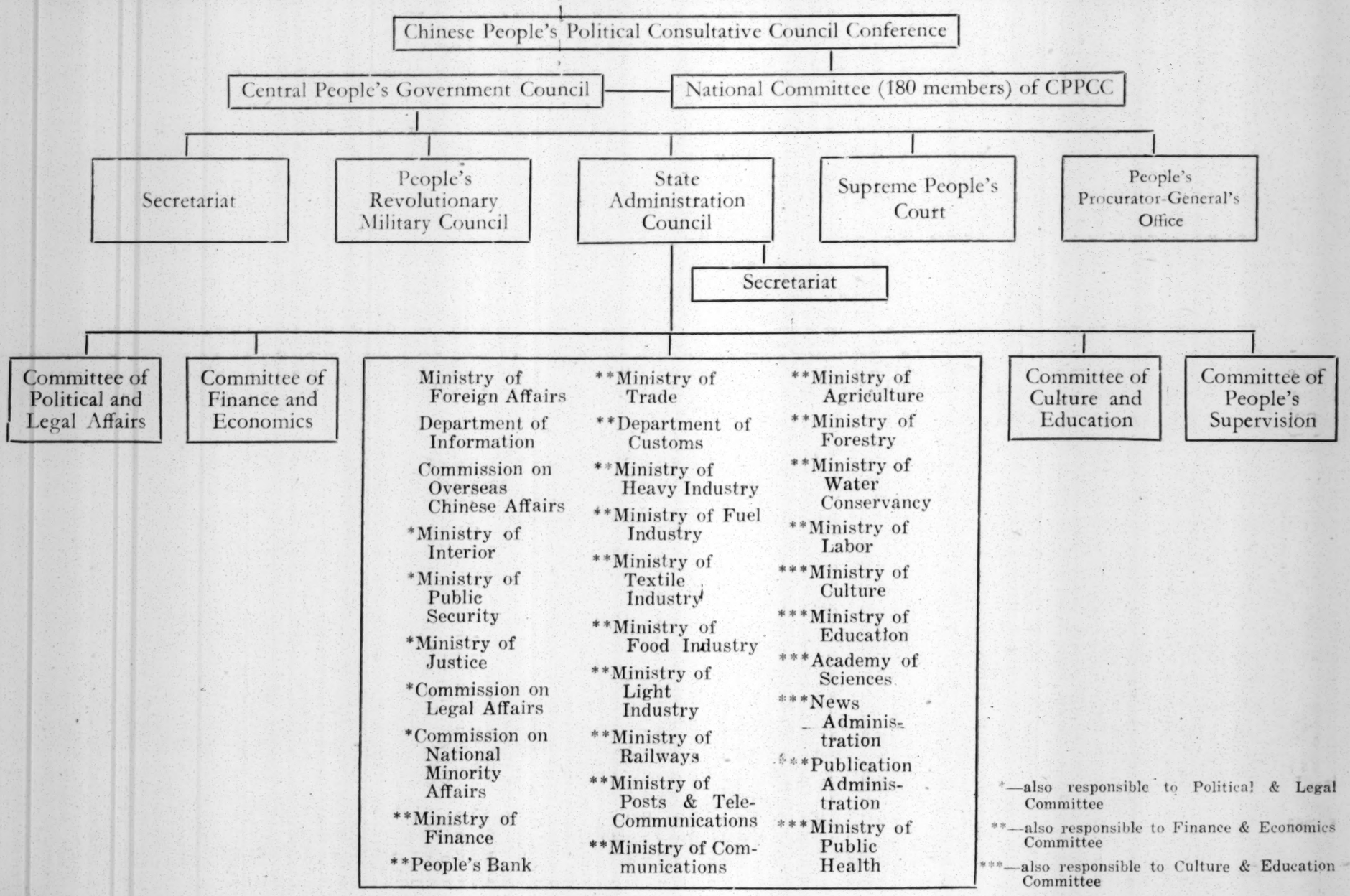
In the domestic remittances market, the Shanghai Branch of the People's Bank resumed remittances with Amoy on October 26. Because of the increasing amount of remittances from North China to Shanghai, premiums were again offered by local banks for remittances to Peking and Tientsin. On November 1, these premiums came to JMP30 per mille.

The Bank of China revised the foreign exchange rates twice during the week under review. With these adjustments, the export of most items is reported to have become increasingly lucrative. An average 20 to 30 percent profit, for example, could be made on the export of rape seeds, duck feathers and tung oil.

Following is a listing of representative commodity prices for the past week:

	Oct. 24 JMP	Nov. 2 JMP
Parity Deposit Unit	884	1,096
US dollar (note)	4,400	4,440
20's yarn	1,120,000	1,330,000
12-lb. cloth	45,500	56,500
Rice, 1st grade	34,500	44,000
Peanut Oil	87,000	99,000
Coal briquette	5,500	5,500

ORGANIZATION CHART OF THE CENTRAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA



*—also responsible to Political & Legal Committee

**—also responsible to Finance & Economics Committee

***—also responsible to Culture & Education Committee

New Government Officials

THE personnel of China's new Government is now virtually complete following the conclusion of the People's Political Consultative Council Conference in Peking. The PPCC elected a National Committee of 180 members which will function as a standing committee during the time that body is not in session. It also elected a Central People's Government Council which was given the task of organizing and supervising the administrative, judicial and military functions of the government. The Central People's Government Council has now approved the appointments of several hundred officials to man the various councils, commissions and ministries of the new government. These appointments are listed on the following pages as source of reference to our readers.

While every effort has been made to check names and titles, it is almost inevitable that the translation and or romanization of some names and titles will not be in accordance with the officially approved ones. However, since only a portion of these have been rendered into English by the official *New China News Agency*, upon whose material we have relied whenever possible, much of the translation work had to be done in the *Review's* office and, therefore, must be considered as unofficial. For a picture of where the various organs fit into the administrative structure of the government, readers are referred to the organization chart on page 154.

I. National Committee of PPCC

Acts as a standing committee of the PPCC while that body is not in session and is to supervise the execution of PPCC resolutions, submit proposals to the Central People's Government, assist the government in mobilizing the people to participate in the national reconstruction, and direct the work of the united front. It also is to prepare for and summon the next plenary session of the PPCC.

Chairman: Mao Tze-tung (Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China). Vice-chairman: Chou En-lai (Communist Party, premier of the State Administration Council and foreign minister), Li Chi-shen (chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang), Shen Chun-ju (People's National Salvation Association), Kuo Mo-jo (non-partisan democrat), Chen Shu-tung (representative of trade and industry circles).

Twenty-eight members of the standing committee: Mao Tze-tung, Liu Shao-chi (Member of Central Committee of the Communist Party), Chou En-lai, Li Wei-han (Communist Party), Li Chi-shen, Wang Kun-lun (Three People's Principles Comrades Association), Chiang Kwang-nai (KMT Association for Promoting Democracy), Chang Lan (chairman, China Democratic League), Shen Chun-ju, Chan Po-chun (China Democratic League), Hwang Yen-pei (Democratic National Construction Committee), Chen Shu-tung (representative of trade and industry circles), Chang Nai-chi (Democratic National Construction Association), Kuo Mo-jo, Ma Hsu-lun (China Association for Promoting Democracy), Chang Hsi-jo (non-partisan democrat), Yang Hsiu-feng (representative of North China Liberated Area), Ulanfu (chairman, People's Government of Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region), Chu Teh (Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese People's Liberation Army), Lin Piao (commander of 4th Field Army and Central China Military Headquarters of People's Liberation Army), Liu Ning-yi (Communist Party, vice-president of the All-China Federation of Labor), Teng Ying-chao (Communist Party, deputy chairman of All-China Democratic Women's Federation), Feng Wen-pin (secretary of central committee of China New Democratic Youth League), Shen Yen-ping (non-partisan democrat, writer), Tan Kah-kee (chairman of General Overseas Chinese Association in Singapore), Shao Li-tse (Kuomintang democratic group). Secretary-general: Li Wei-han (Director of United Front Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party).

One hundred and eighty members: Mao Tze-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Lin Po-chu, Tung Pi-wu, Chen Yun, Peng Chen, Wang Chia-hsiang, Li Wei-han (all Communist Party); Li Chi-shen, Chen Shao-hsien, Chu Yun-shan, Li Jen-jen, Yu Hsin-ching (all Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang); Kuo Chun-tao, Wang Kun-lun (Three People's Principles Comrades Association): Tsai Ting-kai, Chiang Kwang-nai (KMT Association for Promoting Democracy); Chang Lan, Lo Lung-chi, Chou Hsin-min, Chu Tu-nan, Tseng Chao-lun (China Democratic League); Shen Chun-ju, Sha Chien-li (People's National Salvation Association); Chang Po-chun, Kuo Kuan-chieh (Peasants and Workers Democratic Party); Hwang Yen-pei, Chang Nai-chi, Hu Chueh-wen, Shih Fu-liang, Chen Ssu-sheng (Democratic National Construction Association); Kuo Mo-jo, Ma Yin-chu, Chang Hsi-jo, Li Ta, Fu Ting-yi (non-partisan democrats); Ma Hsu-lun, Hsu Kuang-ping (China Democratic Promotion Association); Chen Chi-you, Chen Yen-sheng (China Chih Kung Tang); Hsu Teh-hang, Li Chin-hsi (Chiu San Society); Hsieh Hsueh-hung, Tsai Chien (Taiwan Democratic Self-Governing League); Feng Wen-pin, Chiang Nan-hsiang, Hsiao Hua (China New Democratic Youth League); Ma Ming-fang, Yang Ming-hsuan (Northwest Liberated Areas); Yang Hsiu-feng, Lan Kung-wu (North China Liberated Areas); Chang Ting-cheng, Jung Teh-sheng (East China Liberated Areas); Lin Feng, Che Hsiang-chen (Northeast China Liberated Areas); Huang Keh-cheng, Chang Chen (Central China Liberated Areas); Fang Fang, Chen Ju-tang (South China Liberated Areas); Ulanfu, Kui Pi (Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region); Chu Teh, Hsu Hsiang-chien (People's Liberation Army High Command); Peng Teh-huai, Chao Shou-shan (First Field Army); Teng Hsiao-ping, Kao Shu-hsun (Second Field Army); Shu Yu, Ho Chi-li (Third Field Army); Lin Piao, Chen Ming-jen (Fourth Field Army); Chen Man-yuan, Wu Chi-wei (South China People's Liberation Army); Liu Ning-yi, Liu Chang-sheng, Liu Tzu-chiu, Chang Wei-chen, Yi Li-jung, Li Feng-yun (All-China Federation of Labor); Teng Yin-chao, Li Teh-chuan, Shih Liang, Chen Shao-min, Chang Chin-chiu, Shen Tzu-chiu (All-China Democratic Women's Federation); Chang Hua, Wang Kuo-hua, Tan Yu-pao, Hu Ming, Li Ching-ying, Li Hsiu-chen (Peasant Organizations of the Liberated Areas); Liao Cheng-chih, Chien San-chiang, Wu Han (All-China Federation of Democratic Youth); Hsieh Pang-ting, Fang Kuang-yu, Sung Hsi-heng (All-China Students Federation); Chen Shu-tung, Sheng Pei-hua, Li Fan-yi, Chien Yu-chieh, Pao Ta-san, Sung Pei-ching (trade and industry circles); Liu Hsiao, Pan Han-nien, Niu Chun-chin, Kuei Yen-fang (Shanghai public bodies); Shen Yen-ping, Chou Yang, Cheng Chen-to (All-China Federation of Literature and Fine Arts); Liang Hsi, Li Ssu-kuang, Hou Teh-pang (Preparatory Committee of All-China Natural Science Workers); Chen Shao-yu, Teng Chu-min, Fan Hung (Preparatory Committee of all-China Sociologists); Cheng Fang-wu, Yeh Sheng-tao, Lin Li-ju (Preparatory Committee of All-China Educators Congress); Hu Chiao-mu, Chin Chung-hua, Wang Yun-sheng (Preparatory Committee of All-China Association of Journalists); Pan Chen-ya, Huan Hsiang, Li Cheng-kan (democrats of liberal professions); Wu Hung-pin, Chang Chung, Chu Tsao-kuan, Tien Pao, Chu Teh-hsi, Wang Kuo-hsing (National Minorities); Chen Chia-keng, See-to Mei-tang, Tai Tzu-liang, Yi Mei-hou, Chuang Ming-li, Fei Chen-tung (Overseas Chinese); Soong Ching-ling, Tao Meng-ho, Huang Lu-an, Chien Chang-chao, Sa Chen-ping, Li Shu-cheng, Chang Yuan-chi, Ho Chu-shih, Huang Chi-hsiang, Li Ming-hao, Li Ming-yang, Ning-wu, Chen Chin-kun, Chen Chi-yuan, Chang Wen, Leng Yu, Chang Chih-chung, Shao Li-tze, Chang Shih-chao, Huang Shao-hsiung, Yen Hui-ching, Chiang Yung, Cheng Chien, Fu Tso-yi, Yeng Pao-shan, Tung Chi-wu, Lin Tsun, Teng Chao-hsiang, Liu Shan-pen, Chou Hsin-fang, Mei Lan-fang, Seyfuddin, Abuha Irtule, Chao Chan-kuei, Li Shih-liang (Specially invited delegates).

II. Central People's Government Council

This Council, elected by the PPCC, represents the People's Republic of China in international relations and assumes leadership of the state authority domestically. It exercises jurisdiction over all administrative, judicial and military functions of the government and has power of appointment and impeachment of government personnel. It is also charged with preparing for and eventually convoking the All-China People's Congress.

Chairman: Mao Tze-tung. Vice-chairmen: Chang Lan (Chairman, China Democratic League), Chu Teh (Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese People's Liberation Army), Kao Kang (Chairman of the Northeast People's Government and Secretary of the Northeast Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China), Li Chi-shen (Chairman, Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang), Liu Shao-chi (member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China), Soong Ching-ling (Madame Sun Yat-sen).

Fifty-six members: Chen Yi (Commander of the Third Field Army of the People's Liberation Army), Ho Lung (Commander of the Northwest Military Headquarters of the People's Liberation Army), Li Li-san (Communist Party, First Deputy Chairman of the All-China Federation of Labor), Lin Po-chu (member of Central Committee of Communist Party), Yeh Chien-ying (Communist Party Chairman, Kwangtung People's Provincial Government), Ho Hsiang-ning (Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang), Lin Piao (Commander of the Fourth Field Army and Central China Headquarters of the People's Liberation Army), Peng Teh-huai (Vice-Commander-in-Chief, People's Liberation Army), Liu Po-cheng Commander of the Second Field Army of the People's Liberation Army), Wu Yu-chang (Communist Party, President, North China University), Hsu Hsiang-chien, Peng Chen (member of Central Committee of Communist Party), Po Yi-po (Communist Party, former vice-chairman of North China People's Government), Nieh Jung-chen (Communist Party, Mayor of Peking), Chou En-lai (Communist Party), Tung Pi-wu (Communist Party, Chairman, North China People's Government), Saifudin (National Minorities), Jao Shu-shih (Political Commissar of the Third Field Army and East China Military Headquarters of the People's Liberation Army), Tan Kah-kee (Chairman of General Overseas Chinese Association in Singapore), Lo Jung-huan (Communist Party, Political Commissar of Fourth Field Army of People's Liberation Army), Teng Tsu-hui (Second Political Commissar of Fourth Field Army and Central China Military Headquarters of the People's Liberation Army), Ulanfu (Chairman of the People's Government of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region), Hsu Teh-li (member of Central Committee, Communist Party), Tsai Chang (Communist Party, Chairman of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation), Liu Ke-ping (Communist Party, Moslem), Ma Yin-chu (non-partisan democrat, economist), Chen Yun (Communist Party, former Chairman Northeast Finance and Economic Commission), Kang Shen (Communist Party), Lin Feng (Communist Party, vice-chairman Northeast People's Government), Ma Hsu-lun (China Democratic Promotion Association), Kuo Mo-jo (non-partisan democrat, author), Chang Yun-yi (Vice-commander of South China Military Headquarters of People's Liberation Army), Teng Hsiao-ping (Political Commissar of Second Field Army of People's Liberation Army), Kao Chung-min (Communist Party, vice-chairman, Northeast People's Government), Shen Chun-ju (People's National Salvation Association), Shen Yen-ping (All-China Federation of Literature and Fine Arts), Chen Shu-tung (Representative of trade and industry circles), Se-to Mei-tang (Overseas Chinese), Li Hsi-chiu (Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang), Hwang Yen-pei (Democratic National Construction Association), Tsai Ting-kai (China Kuomintang Association for Promoting Democracy), Hsi Chung-hsun (Political Commissar of the Northwest Military Headquarters of People's Liberation Army), Peng Tse-min (Peasants and Workers Democratic Party), Chang Chih-chung (Kuomintang Democratic Group), Fu Tso-yi (general who revolted against the Kuomintang), Li Chu-chen (representative of trade and industry circles), Li Chang-ta (People's National Salvation Associaton), Chang Po-chun (Peasants and Workers Democratic Party), Cheng Chien (general who revolted against the Kuomintang), Chang Hsi-jo (non-partisan democrat), Chen Ming-shu (Three People's Principles Comrades Association), Tan Ping-shan (Three People's Principles Comrades Association), Chang Nan-hsien (non-partisan democrat), Liu Ya-tse (Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang), Chang Tsung-sun (China Democratic League), Lung Yun (Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang).

III. State Administration Council

This Council, which is responsible and accountable to the Central People's Government Council, is the highest administrative organ of the government. It is empowered to issue decisions and orders, submit bills to the Central People's Government Council, direct the work of the various committees, ministries and commissions and the local people's government, and has power of appointment and impeachment of government personnel on the county and municipal level.

Premier: Chou En-lai (member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party); Vice-Premiers: Tung Pi-wu (Communist Party), Chen Yun (Communist Party), Kuo Mo-jo (Non-partisan democrat), Hwang Yen-pei (Democratic National Construction Association).

Fifteen members of the Council: Tan Ping-shan (Three People's Principles Comrades Association), Hsieh Chueh-tsai (Communist Party), Lo Jui-ching (Communist Party), Po Yi-po (Communist Party), Tseng Shan (Communist Party), Teng Tai-yuan (Communist Party), Chang Po-chun (Democratic League), Li Li-san (Communist Party), Ma Hsu-lun (China Association for Promoting Democracy), Chen Shao-hsien (Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang), Wang Kun-lun (Three People's Principles Comrades Association), Lo Lung-chi (Democratic League), Chang Nai-chi (Democratic National Construction Association), Shao Li-tsu (Kuomintang democratic group), Hwang Shao-hung (Kuomintang democratic group).

Secretary-General of the Council: Li Wei-han (Communist Party); five vice secretaries-general of the Council: Chi Yen-ming, Hsu Kwang-ping, Kuo Chun-tao, Sun Chi-meng and Hsin Chih-chao.

IV. People's Revolutionary Military Council

The highest organ of military command, exercising control over the People's Liberation Army and other people's armed forces throughout the country.

Chairman; Mao Tze-tung; Vice-Chairmen; Chu Teh (former vice-chairman of the People's Revolutionary Military Committee), Liu Shao-chi (former vice-chairman of the People's Revolutionary Military Committee), Chou En-lai (former vice-chairman of the People's Revolutionary Military Committee), Peng Teh-huai (former vice-chairman of the People's Revolutionary Military Committee), Cheng Chien (general who revolted against the Kuomintang).

Twenty-two members of the Council: Ho Lung (commander of the Northwest Military Headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army), Liu Po-cheng (commander of the Second Field Army of the People's Liberation Army), Chen Yi (commander of the Third Field Army of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and commander of the East China Military Headquarters), Lin Piao (commander of the Central China Military Headquarters), Hsu Hsiang-chien (former commander and political commissar of the 18th Army Group of the Chinese People's Liberation Army), Yeh Chien-ying (commander and political commissar of the South China Military Headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army), Nieh Jung-chen (commander of the North China Military Headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army), Kao Kang (commander and political commissar of the Northeast Military Headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army), Su Yu (vice commander of the Third Field Army of the Chinese People's Liberation Army), Chang Yun-yi (vice commander of the South China Military Headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army), Teng Hsiao-ping (political commissar of the Second Field Army of the Chinese People's Liberation Army), Li Hsien-nien (commander and political commissar of the Hupeh Military Headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army), Jao Shu-shih (political commissar of the Third Field Army and of the East China Military Headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army), Teng Tsu-hui (second political commissar of the Fourth Field Army and of the Central China Military Headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army), Hsi Chung-hsun (political commissar of the Northwest Military Headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army), Lo Jui-ching (Minister of Public Security), Sa Chen-ping (veteran admiral), Chang Chih-chung (Kuomingtang democratic group), Fu Tso-yi (general who revolted against the Kuomintang), Tsai Ting-kai (China Kuomintang Association for Promoting Democracy), Lung

Yun (Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang), Liu Fei (Kuomintang democratic group).

Chief of General Staff: Hsu Hsiang-chien; Vice Chief of General Staff: Nieh Jung-chen.

V. Supreme People's Court

The highest judicial organ of the country, responsible for the direction and supervision of the judicial work of all judicial organs of the country.

Chief Justice; Shen Chun-ju (member of the Standing Committee of the Democratic League); Vice chief justices: Wu Kai-chih (Communist Party, former head of the Military Court of the Chinese People's Liberation Army General Headquarters), Chang Chih-jang (professor).

Fourteen members of the Supreme People's Court: Chen Shao-yu (Communist Party, former chairman of the Law Committee of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party), Chu Liang-tsai (Communist Party, head of the Political Department of North China Military Headquarters of the People's Liberation Army), Feng Wen-pin (secretary of the Central Committee of the China New Democratic Youth League), Hsu Chih-chen (member of the Standing Committee of the All-China Federation of Labor), Li Pei-chih (member of the Executive Committe of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation), Fei Ching (professor), Chia Chien (member of the legal profession, former vice-head of the Judicial Department of the North China People's Government), Wang Huai-an (member of the legal profession, former secretary-general of the Judicial Department of the Northeast People's Government), Chen Chin-kun (member of the legal profession, former Chief Justice of the North China People's Court), Wu Yu-heng (lawyer), Min Kang-hou (lawyer), Lu Hung-yi (lawyer), Sha Yen-kai (lawyer), Yu Chung-lo (lawyer).

VI. People's Procurator-General's Office

A supervisory body vested with responsibility for seeing that all government institutions and functionaries, as well as nationals of the country, observe the laws.

Procurator-General, Lo Jung-huan; Vice Procurators-General: Li Liu-ju (Communist Party, former head of the Judicial Department and Chief Justice of the People's Court of the Northeast People's Government), Lan Kung-wu (non-partisan democrat, former vice chairman of the North China People's Government).

Eleven committee members of the People's Procurator-General's Office: Lo-Jui-ching (Communist Party, former political commissar of the 19th Army Group of the Chinese People's Liberation Army), Yang Chi-ching (Communist Party, former vice-head of the Department of Public Security of the North China People's Government), Ho Hsiang-ning (member of the Central Standing Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang), Li Hsi-chiu (member of the Central Control Committee of the Revoluary Committee of the Kuomintang), Chou Hsin-min (member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League), Chen Shao-min (member of the Executive Committee of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation), Hsu Chien-kuo (public security worker), Wang Chin-hsiang (public security worker), Li Shih-ying (public security worker), Pu Sheng-kuang (public security worker), and Feng Chi-ping (public security worker).

VII. Committee of Political and Legal Affairs

Directs the work of the Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Public Security, Ministry of Justice, the Law Commission, and the Commission of the Affairs of Nationalities.

Chairman: Tung Pi-wu (Communist Party, former chairman of the North China People's Government); Vice Chairmen: Peng Chen (Communist Party, secretary of the Peking City Committee of the Chinese Communist Party), Chang Hsi-jo (non-partisan democrat, professor), Chen Shao-yu (Communist Party, former chairman of Law Committee of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party), Peng Tse-min (Chairman of Central Supervisory Committee of the China Peasants and Workers Democratic Party).

Forty-seven committee members: Shen Chun-ju (Chief Justice of the Supreme People's Court), Lo Jung-huan (Procurator General of the People's Procurator-General's Office), Wu Kai-chih (Vice Chief Justice of the Supreme People's Court), Chang Chih-jang (Vice-Chief Justice of the Supreme People's Court), Li Liu-ju (Vice Procurator General of the People's Procurator-General's Office), Lan Kung-wu (Vice Procurator General of the People's Procurator General's Office), Hsieh Chueh-tsai (Minister of Interior), Wu Hsin-yu (Vice Minister of Interior), Chen Chi-yuan (Vice Minister of Interior), Lo Jui-ching (Minister of Public Security), Yang Chi-ching (Vice Minister of Public Security), Shih Liang (Minister of Justice), Li Mu-an (Vice Minister of Justice, Chang Shu-shih (Vice Director of the Law Commission), Hsu Teh-heng (Vice Director of the Law Commission), Chen Chin-kun (Vice Director of the Law Commission), Li Wei-han (Director of the Commission of Affairs of Nationalities), Ulanfu (Vice Director of Commission of Affairs of Nationalities), Liu Ke-ping (Vice Director of the Commission of Affairs of Nationalities), Saifudin (Vice Director of the Commission of Affairs of Nationalities) Tao Hsi-chin (secretary general of Committee on Political and Legal Affairs), Wu Yu-chang (Central Committee member of the Chinese Communist Party), Chang Wen (Central Standing Committee member of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang), Wang Pao-chen (Central Standing Committee member of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang), Li Jen-jen (Central Executive Committee member of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang), Chou Ching-wen (Central Standing Committee member of the China Democratic League), Liu Wang Li Ming (Central Committee member of the China Democratic League), Yeh Tu-yi (Central Committee member of the China Democratic League), Kuo Kuan-chieh (Central Executive Committee member of the China Peasants and Workers Democratic Party), Kuo Tze-chen (Central Executive Committee member of the China Peasants and Workers Democratic Party), Hwang Chi-hsiang (China Peasants and Workers Democratic Party), Chen Ming-shu (Central Standing Committee member of the Three People's Principles Comrades Association), Kuo Chun-tao (Central Standing Committee member of the Three People's Principles Comrades Association), Hsu Pao-chu (Central Standing Committee member of the Three People's Principles Comrades Association), Chen Yen-sheng (Central Standing Committee member of the China Chih Kung Tang), Hsieh Hsueh-hung (Chairman of the Taiwan Democratic Self-governing League), Yi Li-jung (Standing Committee member of the All-China Federation of Labor), Li Hsiu-chen (Peasant Labor heroine), Teng Ying-chao (vice chairman of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation), Teng Chu-min (professor), Wu Yao-tsung (chief editor of the National Committee of the Chinese Young Men's Christian Association), Chou Shan-pei (industrialist), Yen Hwei-ching (philanthropic circles), Lin Chung-yi (lawyer), Chang Shih-chao (lawyer), Chiang Yung (lawyer), Liao Cheng-chih (chairman of the All-China Democratic Youth Federation).

VIII. Finance and Economics Committee

Directs the work of the Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Trade, Ministry of Heavy Industry, Ministry of Fuel Industry, Ministry of Textile Industry, Ministry of Food Industry, Ministry of Light Industry, Ministry of Railways, Ministry of Post and Telegraph, Ministry of Communications, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Forestry and Land Reclamation, Ministry of Water Conservancy, Ministry of Labor, People's Bank, and Maritime Customs Administration.

Chairman: Chen Yun (Communist Party, former chairman of the Committee on Finance and Economics of the Northeast People's Government); Vice Chairmen: Po Yi-po (Communist Party, former vice chairman of the North China People's Government), Ma Yin-chu (non-partisan democrat, president of Chekiang University).

Fifty members of the Committee: Li Fu-chun (Vice Chairman of the Committee on Finance and Economics of the Northeast People's Government), Chai To-fu (Vice Chairman of the Committee on Finance and Economics of the Northwest China Liberated Area), Teng Tsu-huei (Chairman of the Committee on Finance and Economics of the Central China Liberated Area), Tseng Shan (Vice Chairman of the Committee on Finance and Economics of the East China Liberated Area, Minister of Textile Industry), Yeh Chi-chuang (Minister of Trade), Chen Yu (Minister of Fuel Industry), Yang Li-san (Minister of Food Industry), Hwang Yen-pei (Minister of Light Industry), Teng Tai-yuan (Minister of Railways), Chu Hsueh-fan (Minister of Post and Telegraph), Chang Po-chun (Minister of Communications), Li Shu-cheng (Minister of Agriculture), Liang Hsi (Minister of Forestry and Land Reclamation), Fu Tso-yi (Minister of Water Conservancy), Li Li-san (Minister of Labor), Nan Han-chen (director general of the People's Bank), Kung Yuan (Director of the Maritime Customs Administration), Jung Tsu-ho (Vice Minister of Finance), Ho Chang-kung (Vice Minister of Heavy Industry), Chien Chih-kwang (Vice

Minister of Textile Industry), Sung Yu-ho (Vice Minister of Food Industry), Hsueh-Mu-chiao (Secretary General of the Committee on Finance and Economics), Sung Shao-wen (head of the Central Planning Bureau), Tsao Chu-ju (vice head of the Central Planning Bureau), Chien Chang-chao (vice head of the Central Planning Bureau), Sun Hsiao-tsun (vice head of the Central Planning Bureau), Fan Tsu-wen (head of the Central Financial and Economic Personnel Department), Chung Lin (head of the Central Technique Administration), Meng Yung-chien (head of the Central Cooperative Enterprise Administration), Chi Chao-ting (head of the Central Bureau Administering Enterprises with Foreign Capital), Mei Kung-pin (Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang), Chang Nai-chi (Democratic National Construction Association, member of the Board of Directors of the Shangchuan Enterprise Company), Hu Chueh-wen (Democratic National Construction Association, general manager of the Hsin Min Machine Factory), Sheng Pei-hwa (Democratic National Construction Association, manager of the Shanghai Shangyuan Enterprise Company), Pao Ta-san Democratic National Construction Association, general manager of the Shanghai Hsinyi Real Estate Company), Yu Huan-cheng (Democrtaic National Construction Association, director general of the Chiangnan Paper Factory), Leng Yu (Democratic National Construction Association, director general of the Kiangsu Su Yi Plant Breeding Farm), Wu Keng-mei (Democratic National Construction Association, general manager of the China Standard Pencil Factory), Li Shih-hao (member of the Central Executive Committee of the China Peasants and Workers Democratic Party), Chien Chia-chu (Chinese People's National Salvation Association, professor), Li Min-hsin (member of the Standing Committee of the China Kuomintang Association for Promoting Democracy), Liu Tsu-chiu (head of the Policy Research Department of the All-China Federation of Labor), Lo Shu-chang (vice head of the Production Department of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation), Chen Shu-tung (director of the Commercial Press), Chien Yu-chieh (director of the Nan-yang Brothers Tobacco Company), Hou Teh-pang (general manager of the Yung Li Chemical Industry Company), Hu Tsu-an (director general of the Szechuen-Sikang Hsing Yeh Company), Chou Tsang-po (director general of the Central China Chemical Factory), Chou Shu-tao (general manager of the Tientsin Chi Hsin Cement Company), Sung Fei-ching (general manager of the Tientsin Tungya Enterprise Company).

IX. Culture and Education Committee

Directs the work of the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Public Health, Academy of Sciences, Department of Press and Department of Publications.

Chairman: Kuo Mo-jo (non-partisan democrat, chairman of the National Committee of the All-China Federation of Literature and Arts Circles); Vice-Chairmen: Ma Hsu-lun (China Association for Promoting Democracy), Chen Po-ta (vice-head of the Information Department of Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, vice-president of the Institute of Marx and Lenin), Lu Ting-yi (head of the Information Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party), Shen Yen-ping (writer and vice-chairman of the National Committee of the All-China Federation of Literature and Arts Circles).

Forty-two members of the Committee: Chou Yang (Vice Minister of Culture); Ting Hsieh-lin (Vice Minister of Culture), Chien Chun-jui (Vice Minister of Education), Wei Chueh (Vice Minister of Education), Li Teh-chuan (Minister of Public Health), Ho Cheng (Vice Minister of Public Health), Su Ching-kuan (Vice Minister of Public Health), Li Sze-kwang (Vice President of the Academy of Sciences), Tao Meng-ho (Vice President of the Academy of Sciences), Chu Ke-chen (Vice President of the Academy of Sciences), Hu Chiao-mu (director of the News Administration), Hu Yu-chih (director of the Publication Administration), Hsu Teh-li (vice-head of the Information Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party), Liu Ya-tsu (chairman of the Central Supervisory Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang), Chang Tung-sun (China Democratic League, professor), Fei Hsiao-tung (China Democratic League, professor), Wu Han (China Democratic League, professor), Liu Ching-yang (China Democratic League, principal of the Peking New China Girl's Vocational School), Pan Kwang-tan (China Democratic League, professor), Li Ta (non-partisan democrat, professor), Shen Chih-yuan (Chinese People's National Salvation Association, professor), Chen Tzu-sheng (Standing Committee member of the China Kuomintang Association for Promoting Democracy), Chiang Nan-hsiang (Assistant secretary of the Central Committee of the China New Democratic Youth League), Shen Tsu-chiu (head of the Department of Information and Education of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation), Hsieh Pang-ting (chairman of the All-China Students' Federation), Ouyang Yu-chien (writer, member of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the All-China Federation of Literature and Arts Circles), Ting Ling (authoress, member of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the All-China Federation of Literature and Arts Circles), Tien Han (writer, Standing Committee member of the National Committee of the All-China Federation of Literature and Arts Circles), Pa Chin (writer), member of the National Committee of the All-China Federation of Literature and Arts Circles), Chen Ho-ching (educational worker, dean of Normal College of Nanking University), Kiang Heng-yuan (educational worker, Standing Committee member of the China Vocational Education Society), Li Pu-ching (educational worker), Ai Szu-chi (social science worker, professor), Chien Po-tsan (social science worker, professor), Hou Wai-lu (social science worker, professor), Chien Tuan-sheng (professor), Tseng Chao-sen (professor), Lei Chieh-chung (professor), Shen Ti-lan (professor), Fu Ting-yi (non-partisan democrat, etymologist).

X. People's Supervision Committee

Responsible for the supervision of the discharge of duties by government institutions and government functionaries.

Chairman: Tan Ping-shan (member of the Central Standing Committee of the Three Peoples Principles Comrades Association); Vice-Chairmen: Liu Ching-fan (Communist Party, former Acting Chairman of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region Government), Pan Chen-ya (lawyer, member of the Standing Committee of Fuhtan University Council and dean of the college of social sciences of the university).

Fifteen members of the Committee: Chang Hsiu-yen (Communist Party member of the Standing Committee of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation), Chang Mu-yao (Communist Party, former member of the Supervision Commission of the North China People's Government), Chu Yun-shan (Central Standing Committee member of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang), Han Chao-ngo (China Democratic League, counsellor of the Peking People's Government), Tung Lu-an (non-partisan democrat, former member of the North China People's Government Council and vice director of the People's Supervisory Commission of the North China People's Government), Chang Nan-hsien (democratic personage, high counsellor of the Wuhan Military Control Committee), Ho Yu-shih (non-partisan democrat, chairman of the Relief Committee of Hangchow People's Government), Ning Wu (Kuomintang democratic group, member of the Northeast People's Government Council), Kuo Jen-chih (non-partisan democrat, former vice head of the Judicial Department of the North China People's Government), An Tsu-wen (vice-head of the Organization Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party), Hsu Li-chun (member of the Central Committee of the China New Democratic Youth League), Liu Ta-chao (Executive Committee member of the All-China Federation of Labor), Chiu Chin (Executive Committee member of the All-China Federation of Labor), Shuai Meng-chi (head of the Organization Department of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation), Hsiao Ming (Chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the Peking Trade Union Council).

XI. Ministries and Commissions

Minister of Interior: Hsieh Chueh-tsai (Communist Party, former head of Judicial Department of North China People's Government); vice-ministers: Wu Hsin-yu (Communist Party, former head of South Shansi Administrative Office), Chen Chi-yuan (Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang).

Minister of Foreign Affairs: Chou En-lai (Communist Party); vice-ministers: Wang Chia-hsiang (Communist Party, former head of Information Department of Northeast Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party), Li Ke-nung (Communist Party, former head of Department of Social Work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party), Chang Han-fu (Communist Party, former head of Foreign Nationals'

Affairs Office of the Shanghai Military Control Committee).

Minister of Public Security: Lo Jui-ching (Communist Party, former political commissar of the 19th Army Group of the Chinese People's Liberation Army); vice-minister: Yang Chi-ching (Communist Party, former vice-head of Department of Public Security of the North China People's Government).

Minister of Finance: Po Yi-po (Communist Party, former vice-chairman of the North China People's Government); vice-ministers: Jung Tsu-ho (Communist Party, former head of Department of Finance of the North China People's Government), Wang Shao-ao (China Association for Promoting Democracy).

Minister of Trade: Yeh Chi-chuang (Communist Party, former vice-chairman of the Northeast Finance and Economics Committee); vice-ministers: Yao Yi-lin (Communist Party, former head of the Department of Industry and Commerce of the North China People's Government), Sha Chien-li (Chinese People's National Salvation Association, former assistant secretary-general of the Shanghai People's Government).

Minister of Heavy Industry: Chen Yun (Communist Party, former chairman of Northeast Finance and Economics Committee); vice-ministers: Ho Chang-kung (Communist Party, former member of Northeast People's Government Council, head of Department of War Industry of Northeast Military Headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army), Chung Lin (specialist), Liu Ting (Communist Party, former vice-head of Department of Public Enterprises of North China People's Government).

Minister of Fuel Industry: Chen Yu (Communist Party, former head of Department of Fuel Industry of North China Finance and Economics Committee); vice-ministers: Li Fan-yi (industrial and commercial circles, former general manager of the Hankow No. 1 Textile Company), Wu Teh (Communist Party, former secretary of the Tangshan City Committee of the Communist Party).

Minister of Textile Industry: Tseng Shan (Communist Party, vice-chairman of East China Finance and Economics Committee); vice-ministers: Chien Chih-kwang (Communist Party, financial and economic worker), Chen Wei-chi (Democratic National Construction Association, former chief engineer of China Textile Corporation), Chang Chin-chiu (Communist Party, head of Department of Production Enterprises of the All-China Women's Federation).

Minister of Food Industry: Yang Li-san (Communist Party, head of Department of Rear Service of Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Committee); vice-minis- Sung Yu-ho (Communist Party, former vice-chairman of East China Finance and Economics Committee).

Minister of Light Industry: Hwang Yen-pei (Democratic National Construction Association); vice-ministers: Yang Wei-yu (Democratic National Construction Association), Kung Yin-ping (Communist Party, former manager of Bank of China in Shanghai), Wang Hsin-yuan (Democratic National Construction Association, former assistant manager of China Textile Corporation in Tsingtao).

Minister of Railways: Teng Tai-yuan (Communist Party, former head of Railway Department of Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Committee); vice-ministers: Lu Cheng-tsao (Communist Party, former vice-head of Railway Department of Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Committee), Wu Ching-tien (Communist Party, former vice-head of Railway Department of Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Committee), Shih Chih-jen (specialist).

Minister of Post and Telegraph: Chu Hsueh-fan (Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, second vice-president of All-China Federation of Labor); vice-minister: Wang Cheng (Communist Party, director of Telegraphic Administration of Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Committee).

Minister of Communications: Chang Po-chun (China Democratic League); vice-ministers: Li Yun-chang (Communist Party, former commander of Jehol military headquarters of Chinese People's Liberation Army), Chi Fang (China Peasants and Workers Democratic Party, former vice-head of North Kiangsu Administrative Office).

Minister of Agriculture: Li Shu-cheng (democratic personage, former senior counsellor of Wuhan Military Control Committee); vice ministers: Lo Yu-chuan (Communist Party, former vice-chairman of People's Government of Hopei Province), Wu Chueh-nung (specialist), Yang Hsien-tung (natural science worker, former dean of College of Agriculture of Wuhan University).

Minister of Forestry and Land Reclamation: Liang Hsi (professor, former chairman of the Administrative Committee of Nanking University); vice-ministers: Li Fan-wu (Communist Party, former vice-chairman of People's Government of Sungkiang Province), Li Hsiang-fu (Democratic League, professor).

Minister of Water Conservancy: Fu Tso-yi (general who revolted against the Kuomintang); vice minister: Li Pao-hua (Communist Party, former assistant secretary of Peking City Committee of Communist Party).

Minister of Labor: Li Li-san (Communist Party, first vice-president of All-China Federation of Labor); vice-ministers: Shih Fu-liang (Democratic National Construction Association), Mao Chi-hua (Communist Party, former secretary-general of Shanghai Trade Union Council).

Minister of Culture: Shen Yen-ping (writer, vice-chairman of National Committee of All-China Federation of Literature and Arts Circles); vice-ministers: Chou Yang (Communist Party, vice-chairman of National Committee of all China Federation of Literature and Arts Circles), Ting Hsieh-lin (natural science worker, professor).

Minister of Education: Ma Hsu-lun (China Association for Promoting Democracy); vice-ministers: Chien Chun-jui (Communist Party, former vice-chairman of Higher Education Committee of North China People's Government), Wei Chueh (educational worker, former vice-mayor of Shanghai and head of Department of Higher Education of Shanghai People's Government).

Minister of Public Health: Li Teh-chuan (Revolutionary Committee of Kuomintang); vice-ministers: Ho Chen (Communist Party, former head of Public Health Department of Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Committee), Su Ching-kuan (Communist Party, former vice-head of Public Health Department of Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Committee).

Minister of Justice: Shih Liang (China Democratic League, lawyer); vice-minister: Li Mi-an (Communist Party, former member of Law Committee of Central Committee of Communist Party).

Director of the Law Commission: Chen Shao-yu (Communist Party, former chairman of Law Committee of Central Committee of Communist Party); vice-directors: Chang Shu-shih (Communist Party, former vice-director of Supervisory Commission of North China People's Government), Hsu Teh-heng (Chiu San Society, professor), Chen Chin-kun (former Chief Justice of North China People's Court);

Fifteen members of the commission: Shen Chu-ju (Chief Justice of the Supreme People's Court), Chang Chih-jang (vice Chief Justice of the Supreme People's Court), Li Liu-ju, (vice Procurator-General of People's Procurator-General's Office), Hsieh Chueh-tsai (Minister of Interior), Shih Liang (Minister of Justice), Li Mi-an (Vice-Minister of Justice), Ho Shih-kun (China Peasants and Workers Democratic Party), Li Ta (non-partisan democrat, professor), Meng Ching-shu (former member of Law Committee of Central Committee of Communist Party), Wu Yu-heng (lawyer), Wang Chih-hsiang (professor), Tai Hsiu-tsan (professor), Wu Chuan-yi (professor), Li Tsu-yin (professor), Li Kwang-tsan (professor).

Director of the Commission of the Affairs of Nationalities: Li Wei-han (Communist Party, head of United Front Department of Central Committee of Communist Party); vice-directors: Ulanfu (Mongolian, chairman of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Government), Liu Ke-ping (Moslem, former vice-president of East China People's Revolutionary Academy), Saifudin (Uighur, acting chairman of Sinkiang League for Defense of Peace and Democracy).

Twenty-two members of the Commission: Chang Chun (Yi nationality, former vice-chairman of Sinkiang Provincial People's Government), Wu Hung-pin (Moslem, mayor of Lanchow People's Government), Kuei Pi (Mongolian, head of Civil Affairs Department of Inner Mongolian Autonomous Government), Chu Tsao-kuan (Miao nationality, former vice-chief of staff of Northwest military headquarters of Chinese People's Liberation Army), Sans-rgyas-ye-shes (Tibetan, member of Commission of the Affairs of Nationalities of Shensi-Kansu-Ningshia Border Region), Patierhan (Kazakh nationality of Sinkiang province, commander of Ashan cavalry regiment of Sinkiang nationality army), Alimchiang (Uzbek nationality of Sinkiang, chairman of Tacheng area branch of Sinkiang League for Defence of Peace and Democracy), Chu Teh-hai (Korean, head of Yenpien office of district administration of Kirin Province), Wang Kuo-hsing (Li national-

ity, vice-head of autonomous region of Li and Miao nationalities on Hainan Island), Tien Fu-tah (Kao Shan tribe), Liu Chun (assistant secretary and head of organization department of Inner Mongolia Work Committee of Communist Party), Yang Ching-jen (Moslem, member of Commission of Affairs of Nationalities of Government of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region), Lu Chen-yu (professor), Wung Tu-chien (professor), Ma Szu-yi (Moslem, commander of cavalry regiment of Northwest Military Headquarters of Chinese People's Liberation Army), Hsien Wei-chun (Moslem, vice-head of Sanpien prefecture of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region Government), Ma Yu-huai (Moslem, chairman of Peking Moslem Work Committee), Wang Yueh-feng (Mongolian, commander of Ikechao League Military Headquarters), Wang Tsai-tien (Mongolian, head of Public Security Department of Inner Mongolian Autonomous Government, vice-commander of Inner Mongolian Military Headquarters), Temurbagen (Mongolian, head of Finance Department of Inner Mongolian Autonomous Government), Cha Hsi (Tibetan, member of Commission of Affairs of Nationalities of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region Government), Kuo Jui (Tibetan, member of Commission of Affairs of Nationalities of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region Government).

Director of the Commission of Overseas Chinese Affairs: Ho Hsiang-ning (Central Standing Committee member of the Revolutionary Committee of Kuomintang); vice-directors: Li Jen-jen (Central Executive Committee member of Revolutionary Committee of Kuomintang), Liao Cheng-chih (Central Committee member of Communist Party), Li Tieh-min (Standing Committee member of Democratic League, Malayan Branch), Chuang Hsi-chuan (Democratic League, industrial and commercial circles).

Forty-five members of Commission (including 16 yet to be named): Tan Kah-kee (chairman of General Overseas Chinese Association in Singapore), Seeto Mei-Tang (supervisor of Chih Kung Tang in the Americas); Chen Chi-yuan (central standing committee member of Revolutionary Committee of Kuomintang) Tai Tsu-liang (Executive Committee member of China Democratic League, Southeast Asia Branch), Fei Chen-tung (Chief secretary of General Association of Overseas Chinese in Medan, Sumatra), Yi Mei-hou (standing committee member of Chinese Chamber of Commerce in Siam), Hwang Chang-shui (chief secretary of Hongkong Philippines Importers and Exporters Association), Chou Cheng (chairman of association of Hainanese in Siam), Hou Han-chiang (educational circles), Chuang Ming-li (vice-chairman of Democratic League, Penang Branch), Chao Ling-teh (chairman of General Association of Chinese Residents in North Korea), Lin Tang (general secretary of Laundrymen's Association, New York), Chang Shu-ming (Finance Committee member of Southern Branch of China Democratic League), Yeh Chien-ying (chairman of People's Government of Kwangtung Province), Chang Yun-yi (second secretary of South China Sub-bureau of Central Committee of Communist Party), Chang Ting-cheng (chairman of People's Government of Fukien Province), Teng Tsu-hui (chairman of Central China Finance and Economics Committee), Yeh Fei (commander of 10th Army Group of People's Liberation Army), Li Chu-li (former vice-head of Information Department of Northeast Bureau of Central Committee of Communist Party), Lien Kuan (head of Third Office of United Front Work Department of Central Committee of Communist Party), Hsu Ching-cheng (vice-head of Third Office of United Front Work Department of Central Committee of Communist Party), Chen Jen-yi (head of preparatory committee of Revolutionary Committee of Kuomintang, Australian Branch), Wang Yu-ting (Financial Committee member of Democratic League, Southern Branch), Tsai Ting-kai (acting chairman of China Kuomintang Association for Promoting Democracy), Peng Tse-min (chairman of Central Supervisory Committee of China Peasants and Workers Democratic Party), Kuan Wen-sen (central committee member of China Chih Kung Tang), Wang Jen-shu (former adviser to General Federation of Overseas Chinese in Sumatra), Shao Li-tze (Kuomintang democratic group), Sa Chen-ping (veteran admiral).

President of Academy of Sciences: Kuo Mo-juo (non-partisan democrat, chairman of National Committee of All-China Federation of Literature and Arts Circles); vice-presidents: Chen Po-ta (social science worker, vice-head of Information Department of Central Committee of Communist Party, vice-president of Institute of Marx-Lenin), Li Szu-kuang (natural science worker, professor), Tao Meng-ho (social science worker, professor), Chu Ke-chen (natural science worker, former president of Chekiang University).

Director of the Information Administration: Tsou Ta-peng (Communist Party, former secretary-general of Department of Social Work of Central Committee of Communist Party).

Director of Maritime Customs Administration: Kung Yuan (Communist Party, former secretary of Fushun City Committee of Communist Party), vice-director: Ting Kuei-tang (specialist).

Director of the News Administration: Hu Chiao-mu (Communist Party, managing editor of *New China News Agency* and *People's Daily*); vice-directors: Fan Chang-chiang (Communist Party, former managing editor of *Shanghai Liberation Daily*), Sa Kung-liao (Democratic League, general secretary of *Kwangming Daily*).

Director of Publication Administration: Hu Yu-chih (Democratic League, editor-in-chief of *Kwangming Daily*); vice-directors: Yeh Sheng-tao (writer, former chairman of Committee for Editing and Examining Textbooks under Education Department of North China People's Government), Chou Chien-jen (China Association for Promoting Democracy, former vice-chairman of Committee for Editing and Examining Textbooks under Education Department of North China People's Government).

Director General of People's Bank: Nan Han-chen (Communist Party, former general manager of People's Bank of China); vice-director general: Hu Ching-yun (Communist Party, former assistant general manager of People's Bank of China).

LETTERS

(Continued from page 143)

unite ourselves and take the fullest advantage of self-criticism and mutual criticism, two weapons of Marxism-Leninism.

Moreover, the Chinese students of today have long come to the realization that union is strength. In the past years, we united ourselves for the purposes of struggling against the Chiang regime and American imperialism. Henceforth, as masters of the new China, we should unite for the purpose of preparing ourselves to answer the calls of the People's Government for social revolutionary activities and the realization of the "six great tasks."

The difference between the former students' self-government body and the present students' association lies in the difference of the aims. The former was the best form of organization to protect the students from being killed by the murderous hands of the Chiang gang; while the latter is the best form of organization to unite students, teachers, and employees to struggle for the realization of new democratic education.

FRANCIS HANLING CHOW.

Fuhtan University, Shanghai
October 26, 1949

UK RECOGNITION

To The Editor:

Reading the only English language daily in Shanghai I find myself very confused as to whether Great Britain intends to recognize the Chinese People's Government in the very near future. Reports seem to blow hot and cold; one day the newspaper carries a story stating that "unusually reliable" or "high foreign" office sources say that early recognition is in the cards. And the next day Bevin or some other high government official makes a statement that no decision had been taken on the issue of recognition, and that Great Britain is consulting with other interested parties, including, of course, the United States.

It is obvious to any resident in Shanghai who has any British associations that the British community as a whole is anxious to have recognition as soon as possible. It is also obvious that recognition would be an asset to greater trade relations between the UK and the People's Republic.

In this case, why all this pussyfooting? Or has Britain's status as a world power reached such a stage that she can only take major decisions with the approval of the US?

The Chinese have announced that they want diplomatic relations only with those countries who want recognition by China. If Great Britain wants to recognize, she should go ahead and do so. Any substantial additional delay will only cause suspicion that Britain in her jockeying for world position has taken this step with US blessings, and if this is the case, for what reasons would the US, which is known to be unfriendly to the new republic, extend approval for such a step?

CONFUSED

Shanghai
October 27, 1949

The Review's English Lesson CIV

More Terms

Epoch of history (歷史時代): "Epoch" comes from two Greek words meaning "to lay hold upon." It has come, in addition to its specialized meanings in astronomy and geology, to mean a period of time characterized by a distinctive development or by a memorable series of events. Synonyms are "era" and "age;" although differing slightly in meaning, they are practically interchangeable when applied to historical periods. Thus, one might say, "This is the epoch (era, age) of science and industry." Historical epochs of western history may be broadly classified, as for example, the middle ages, the feudal era, the Victorian age, etc. In these phrases, it is seen that "age" or "era" is used to refer to a specific period, rather than "epoch." "Times" is also used, as for example, in "modern times."

Social rank (社會地位): "Rank" is an orderly arrangement, grade, or indicates relative position or status. Thus "social rank" means position in society; class. A synonym is "social orders" (社會等級). Thus, in the Middle Ages in Europe, society was divided into various orders or rank: feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs. These ranks were fairly well defined in a rigid social structure, which obstructed attempts on the part of individuals to change their status. "Gradation" (等第) is a synonym for "rank;" thus, "Society in the Middle Ages was a series of gradations." (列系的階第).

Knight (騎士): In ancient Rome, member of a class enjoying fewer privileges and rights than the patricians, or nobles. In European feudalism, a knight was a mounted man-at-arms serving a superior, especially one who, after serving as a page or squire, was admitted to special military rank and bound to chivalrous conduct. In general, a military attendant or follower.

Class antagonisms (階級的矛盾): In Marx-Leninism, the theory that in every age society has been divided into classes, and that these classes have carried on an unceasing struggle. Different economic interests create class antagonism. The evolution of historical forms has now arrived at the division of society into two classes, workers and capitalists, whereas in previous historical eras, it is contended, society was organized into a more complicated system of class division.

Conditions of oppression (壓迫條件): Among other meanings, "condition" has the sense of that which exists as an occasion for something else; a prerequisite for something to be or happen; a situation or circumstance which enables or requires something else to be or occur. "Oppression" is the unjust or cruel exercise of authority or power, especially by the imposition of burdens. Thus, one might say, "Formerly, the conditions of oppression of China by foreign powers were the former's higher political and economic development, and the latter's backwardness, colonial status, and internal division."

Feudalism (封建主義): Feudalism in western Europe had its origins in two ancient Roman relationships between persons, private rather than public in character. One had to do with the person, the other with land. Owing to unsettled conditions at the time of the breaking up of the Roman Empire, the landless freeman who could not support himself offered his services to some powerful man (usually a landlord) in return for shelter and support. The land relationship also involved protection; the poor landowner went to the lord and, in exchange for the latter's protection, signed over to the lord his ownership. The owner thus secured protection during his lifetime, but his children, who naturally could not inherit the land, had to make the best terms they could with the landlord. These relationships, in slightly different form, existed in Gaul (France) when the Romans arrived. Later, the elements of loyalty by the vassal to the lord, for which he took an oath, and the mutual duties between lord and vassal, entered the system, apparently from Germany.

The early land relationship was not a pecuniary one—it was not entered into by the lord for the purpose of collecting rents, but rather to obtain agricultural and military services. But later, Charles Martel, in order to raise an army against the Arabs, extended the "benefice" to church lands. It was at this time that the idea of military service as the essential obligations of the vassal became firmly entrenched in the feudal system.

Feudalism, then, grew out of chaos and eventually took possession of the territory and the government of the state. With a central government too weak to preserve order, the great landowners formed their own territories, with their own armies, which they could defend themselves. Their weaker neighbors came to them for protection, which they gave in return for land and service. Finally, the great landlords (counts, barons) secured from the king an "immunity" which excluded the royal officers from their lands and gave them the position of semi-official representatives of the state. They stood between their dependents and state power, finally forcing the king to recognize the system as legal. The king, finding his authority too weak to extend directly to his subjects, took over the system, ruling indirectly through the great landowners who were his vassals, and whose dependents in turn were bound to carry out their duties.

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